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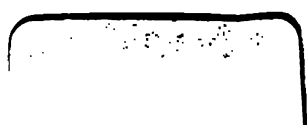
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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
ARCHBISHOP SHARP,
(OF ST. ANDREWS.)

1629
BY
THOMAS STEPHEN,

MED. LIB. KING'S COLL.

Author of "The Book of the Constitution," "Guide to the Liturgy," &c.



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P R E F A C E.

I BELIEVE this is the first modern attempt at giving a life of Archbishop Sharp ; who having been so much engaged in public affairs, it was impossible to avoid entering into the whole Ecclesiastical history of the times in which he lived. I have taken a different view from the leading historian of the reigns of the royal brothers ; but have not advanced any opinion or fact without adducing ample authority. The history of the latter end of the seventeenth century was compiled by furious partizans, actuated by the most violent passions, it has therefore been impossible to avoid controversy on some disputed points of history. From the Restoration to the Revolution, the church in Scotland was so crushed under the power of the ministers of the crown, that she appeared to be more a state-engine than an independent Ecclesiastical estate.

I have had the peculiar advantage of consulting some original MSS., belonging to the church in Scotland, and which are deposited in the “ Episcopal Chest ” at Aberdeen. This could

only be done under the authority of the whole of the Scottish prelates, who most kindly condescended to favour me with an order for that purpose. These documents are now published, some of them for the first time, according to their dates. It is hoped that the following history will therefore be found worthy of public patronage; and that I have succeeded in dispelling many prejudices under which the character of the murdered prelate and that branch of the church catholic has so long laboured.

The late Miss Sharp, who is mentioned by Boswell, in Dr. Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides, collected a great quantity of papers relating to her ancestor, Archbishop Sharp. Her nephew, General Bethune of Blebo, having been detained prisoner by Bonaparte after the Peace of Amiens, and despairing of his return, she unfortunately ordered them all to be burnt previous to her death. Much genuine information, relating to history and the private affairs of the primate, has thus been lost.

T. S.

King's College,
December, 1838.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first introduction of Christianity into Scotland has been ascribed to several individuals, and different eras have been fixed; but to none of them do I think entire credit is due. Christianity was gradually received into Scotland from South Britain, most probably in the rear of the Roman armies, and the church in Scotland was merely an extension of the ancient British church. When the Saxons massacred the British, and drove the remnant into Wales, Christianity took shelter there. The church was unquestionably planted in South Britain by St. Paul, and maintained its independence of Rome in Wales, as a *Protestant* church, down to the middle of the twelfth century.

By the end of the second century it is ascertained that the Christian faith had made considerable progress in Scotland, though it is probable there was not then any regularly gathered church. It was not till the beginning of the fifth century that St. Ninian, who was himself a South Briton, organised the church. He built the *Candida Casa*, at Whithorn, in Galloway, and there fixed his Episcopal seat. He travelled much among the Picts and Scots, and, says Bishop Lloyd on the authority of Bede, "He did all the parts of an apostle; he consecrated bishops among them; he

ordained priests, and divided their country into parishes, and so having formed and settled their church, he returned to his own see at Whithorn, and there he died about eighteen years after their conversion." Whosoever the glad tidings of salvation was brought to that kingdom, blessed be the name of the Most High, who predestinated it unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ, and vouchsafed, even in the day-spring of the gospel, graciously to remember and visit it. And may He who seeth in secret, reward those openly who, though unknown to fame, were the messengers of salvation.

St. Ninian died on the 16th September, 432, which day was for many ages kept as an annual festival in honour of his memory, and the many parish-churches which were dedicated to his name, shows the just respect in which he was held in all parts of Scotland. About the period of his death, Celestine sent Palladius to assist the Scottish church in the suppression of the Pelagian heresy. With the usual crafty policy of Rome, even at that early period of the mystery of iniquity, he attempted to assume dominion over the faith of the Scottish church. He thought, says Hollinshed, in his *Chronicles*, " he should easily persuade that crooked nation to *admit and receive* the rites of the Church of Rome as he *would fain have done before-hand in the South*. But as Fastidius Priscus, Archbishop of London, and his suffragans *resisted him here, so did the Scottish prelates there also in this behalf*."

In right of his usurped patriarchal authority, Celestine conferred on Palladius the rank and title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*, first or chief bishop of Scotland. The *Primus* was also called *Maximus* and

Summus Episcopus, and sometimes simply *Episcopus Scotorum*. *Primus* did not indicate *first* in point of time but of dignity or rank. The chief bishop of Scotland retained this title till the episcopate of Patrick Graham, in the year 1466, when Pope Celestine III. conferred on him the title of archbishop, to establish the independence of the Scottish church against the claims of the see of York. This title was retained till the death of Archbishop Patterson, after the Revolution, when Dr. Rose, Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, reassumed the ancient title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*, and which has ever since been borne by his successors in office. A new *Primus* is elected on the demise or resignation of his predecessor, and the present worthy and much-esteemed occupant of that ancient office is the Right Rev. James Walker, D. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Edinburgh.

Perhaps the most incontestible proof of the identity of the British, the Irish, and the Scottish churches, is the fact that all of them retained the old cycle, in keeping the festival of Easter, in opposition to the Anglo-Saxon church. Austin, and his successors, attempted to settle a conformity with the new cycle, but which was resisted both by the British and the Scottish churches. Some Scottish and Anglo-Saxon bishops held a synod, for composing this controversy, but neither yielded. On this subject the Scottish church began to divide among themselves, and Eugenius VI. having sent Bishop Adamnanus on an embassy to the King of Northumberland, he became a convert to the new style, and on his return, succeeded in introducing it into the Scottish church.

The Papal power was never exercised with the same

rigour in Scotland as in other countries under the pope's usurpation ; but by all accounts, the clergy seem to have been exceedingly dissolute ; and their vices were the principal topic of declamation by the first Reformers. The Reformation in Scotland was entirely a popular movement, and was opposed both by the court and the Romish hierarchy. John Knox appealed rather to the passions, than to the reason or the faith of the people, and easily enlisted them in a war of devastation on the sacred and conventual buildings. He established in 1560 an Episcopal government, under the name of superintendents, ministers, and readers, which last were to purchase for themselves a good degree, which shows that he intended them to be ecclesiastical officers. His intimate friend, Erskine of Dun, and one of his superintendents, asserts, in a letter to the regent, " that a bishop or superintendent, is but *one office* ; and where the *one is, the other is* :"—to which office, he says, " pertains examination and admission (ordination) into spiritual cure and office." Besides, provision was made for the support of the superintendents, "*in all time coming*," a form of speech which evidently indicated perpetuity. This government of superintendents, or titular bishops, continued till the year 1580, when Melville succeeded in erecting the *first Presbyterian court*. But the Presbyterian system was not confirmed by parliament till 1595, thirty-five years after the establishment of Knox's titular Episcopacy, by the estates of parliament. It occupied Andrew Melville seventeen years of fierce contention and agitation, before he accomplished the overthrow of Knox's superintendents, and the substitution of the *foreign* plant, Presbyterian, which lasted no longer than till 1597.

The confusion and sedition to which it then (and, indeed, always has) created, obliged James to restore the titular Episcopacy.

In 1603 James succeeded to the crown of England, and in 1610 he convoked a general assembly at Glasgow, which unanimously recognised Episcopacy as the national church, *in all time coming*. Spottiswood, who is, perhaps, amongst the greatest men whom that church has produced, with two other titular bishops, were summoned to London, where they were duly consecrated; and who, after their return, consecrated their brethren, the other titular bishops, and ordained the clergy.

A few factious firebrands dissented from the now happily settled order of the church, and whose religious turbulence found able assistants in the lay nobility, who having plundered the church, rushed into the horrid sin of rebellion, rather than restore the church and abbey lands, which they had seized at the Reformation. Charles I. summoned a General Assembly in 1638, which was packed by Presbyterians, rebels, and men inimical to church and state; they forcibly prevented the bishops from sitting, and excommunicated them, which, respecting their spiritual powers, was a matter of no moment, as they could not cut them off from the church catholic. The effect however, was very different in a temporal point of view; for it placed their property under confiscation, and rendered themselves liable to assassination, without protection or redress.

Their properties were forfeited, and to save their lives, the bishops fled into England, where they all died, save one, without providing for the succession.

Such of the inferior clergy as were able to retain their benefices, being thus left without governors, sank quietly down, to all *outward* appearance, at least, Presbyterians. They submitted to the tyrannical "pressure from without," which they were unable either to resist or controul. As no society can subsist without government, they met in presbyteries and synods, but were soon obliged to withdraw from the real Presbyterians, who were called Remonstrators, on account of their rebellious, fanatical, and tyrannical conduct. This anomalous state of things continued till the Restoration; at which time, as will be seen by the following history, the church was again planted, and cheerfully recognised, by at least nine-tenths of the clergy and people. It was in a very flourishing and united state at the Revolution; when, by the relaxation of government, the faction which had embroiled and agitated the western counties forcibly drove the clergy from their cures on Christmas-day, 1688, and subjected them to the most cruel persecution.

The civil government fell into the hands of those men who had instigated the Covenanters to their lawless violence during the two preceding reigns, and now winked at their cruel treatment of the clergy. The Covenanters urged the "inclinations of the people," *i. e.* the clamours of their own faction, as their claim of right to the establishment. William was deceived by those Presbyterians who had access to him, both before and after the Revolution. When his sagacity discovered the true state of affairs, he made several ineffectual efforts to induce the Scottish bishops to transfer their allegiance to him; and it was with considerable difficulty that he was at last prevailed on to permit the establish-

ment of Presbytery. M'Cormick, a violent partizan, in his *Life of Carstairs*, says, that "it was not till he (William) found that all attempts towards a comprehension in England would probably be rendered ineffectual by the violence of the high-church party, *that he yielded to the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland*," p. 43. "Nor had he sooner consented, than by the *indiscreet* management of those who were entrusted by him in the direction of Scottish affairs, *and the headstrong VIOLENCE of the Presbyterian clergy, he began to REPENT of what he had done in their favour*."—"In the preceding session of parliament, King William *being with* *CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY prevailed on to consent to the abolition of prelacy in Scotland*; but still kept sight of his favourite object, *which was an entire union betwixt the two kingdoms, both in church and state*. For this reason, he *absolutely refused* to give his assent to an act which was proposed by some of the rigid Presbyterians, asserting that Presbytery was the only form of church-government agreeable to the word of God." p. 47.

The violence of the Covenanters, aided by the timid non-resistance of the Episcopal clergy, succeeded in forcing Presbytery on the nation, *much against the "inclinations of the people"*. As a nation, it has shown itself unworthy of the sacred deposit of the apostolical succession, by the sacrilegious murder of three Archbishops of St. Andrews, and the proscription of the whole Episcopal order, with which Christ promised to be till time should merge into eternity. This murderous proscription they have bound upon their souls by a solemn oath. Our Saviour's affectionate lamentation over Jerusalem applies with full force to that kingdom,

which has indeed killed the prophets, and stoned those who were sent. Matt. xxiii. 37—39. Repeatedly has the attempt been made to gather them into the apostolic fellowship, but they would not ; and therefore they have cut themselves off from the communion of the church catholic, and have been given up to a state of anarchy and division.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

CHAPTER I.

Parentage—Birth—Education—Goes to Oxford—Illness—Return to Scotland—Professor of Divinity—Fracas—Presented to the Living of Crail—Retrospect—League and Covenant—Glasgow Assembly—Resolutioners—Protestors—Interview with Cromwell—His Conduct approved—Monck—Death of Cromwell—Sharp joins Monck at Coldstream—Monck reaches London.

DAVID SHARP was a native of Perthshire, and having been bequeathed a small sum of money by his father, settled in the city of Aberdeen, where he entered into business as a merchant, and acquired considerable property. He married Magdalen Haliburton, daughter of Mr. Haliburton of Pitcur in the county of Angus, by whom he had a son, named William, and to whom he gave a liberal education. William Sharp, being a man of good abilities, was early patronized by the Marquis of

Huntley and other noblemen, in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. The Earl of Findlater, in particular, held him in such high estimation, that he entrusted the whole of his affairs to his care. William Sharp married Isabel Lessly, daughter of Mr. Lessly of Keninvy in the county of Banff, and soon after was appointed sheriff's clerk of Banffshire. He resided in Banff Castle, where James Sharp, the subject of this memoir, was born on the 4th of May, 1618. He gave early indications of superior abilities, and at school outstripped most of his contemporaries, having a quick apprehension, and a tenacious memory. It was remarked that he was constant and diligent in reading the Scriptures, and regular in his private devotions. He took great pleasure in the society of clergymen, and his father used jestingly to call him the young minister. His mother prognosticated that he would be a bishop; and as she lived to a great age, she had the satisfaction of hearing of his promotion to that office before her death. Being intended for the church, James Sharp was sent to King's College Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. He afterwards studied theology under Dr. Forbes of Corse, and Dr. Baron, with the latter of whom he was an especial favourite. The fact of his having prosecuted his theological studies under the superintendence of these ornaments of the Scottish

episcopal church, is a sufficient guarantee that his principles were catholic and orthodox. It likewise shows that the grand step of his after-life, for which he has been so liberally denounced as traitor and apostate, was not contrary to the principles which he had imbibed in early life. "Under these great tutors in that sacred science, his advances were extraordinary; and there he sucked in a set of such orthodox and catholic principles, as were more agreeable to his after elevated character, and the last scenes of his life, than adapted to these tragical times, in which he was to make his first figure and entrance into the world."*

In the year 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant was imposed on all ranks, and on every age, by the leading ministers who were engaged in the grand rebellion. It was vigorously resisted by the university and clergy of Aberdeen, and by none more successfully than by those eminent men Drs. Forbes and Baron. This opposition to the mania of the day, it appears, "incensed the Balaams of those times to that degree, that not only these reverend persons, but also their friends and families, and those suspected to be of their principles, were preached down, whispered off, pointed at, and mobbed, against all laws, out of

* True and Impartial Account of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr. James Sharp, p. 28.

the protection of law, their interests, and the natural privileges of subjects.”*

Mr. Sharp was now twenty years of age, and being one of those who was not only “suspected to be,” but well known actually to be of “their principles,” i. e. Episcopalian, found it necessary to retire to England : and it is said, that he was expelled from college for refusing to take the Covenant. This circumstance is not mentioned by the anonymous author of his life ; but it is not unlikely, and is honourable to his memory. He certainly did refuse to sign it ; and the imposers of that sacrilegious bond were not likely to use much delicacy with their opponents. He went to Oxford, where he intended to prosecute his studies, till the faction and schism in his native church, and the sedition and rebellion in the state should subside. He trusted that such fierce winds as then blew out of the sanctuary would not be of long duration ; and after the tempest, it was his intention to return, and dedicate his life to the service of the church. During his residence in England, he acquired the friendship of Saunderson, Hammond, and Jeremy Taylor ; the former of whom was selected by the university of Oxford to refute the Solemn League and Covenant, which he did in a masterly manner. It appears that Mr. Sharp

* True and Impartial Account, p. 28.

stood fair for promotion in the church of England, had it not, as well as the church of Scotland, been overturned by the votaries of the Covenant, "that forerunner of many woes." At this time the church of England suffered a violent persecution; and the church of Scotland was annihilated, her bishops being driven out of the kingdom, and threatened with death should they venture to return. Before he had resolved on taking orders in the church of England, where he was offered promotion, he was seized with a violent ague, which nearly proved fatal. On his recovery, a change of air was recommended, and he returned by easy stages to Scotland, in a weak state of health.*

On his journey homeward, he lodged in the same inn, and on the same night, with Sir James Mackgill of Cranston, afterwards Viscount Oxenford. Sir James was a loyalist, a man of learning, and of a generous disposition; and was so much pleased with Mr. Sharp's conversation, that he invited him to spend some time with him at his house. Here Mr. Sharp completely recovered his health and formed a friendship with Sir James, which ended only with his life. At Cranston he became acquainted with the Earl of Rothes, to whom he was related on his mother's

* True and Impartial Account, p. 29.

side who was a descendant of that family. The Earl of Rothes was pleased with his relative, and took him under his patronage, through whose recommendation Mr. Sharp was appointed professor of philosophy in St. Leonard's College, in the university of St. Andrew's, and which was the first step of his advancement.*

He lived here some years, in the usual routine and quiet retirement of a college life. Of time, of which most men are extremely prodigal, Professor Sharp was particularly economical. What was necessary for instruction was spent with his pupils, and the remainder he spent in improving his own mind, and in society. With the other professors he lived on amicable terms; but an accidental dispute with one of them, had nearly brought him into trouble. One day, after dinner in the public-hall, and after the students had retired, he entered into an argument on the subject of church-government with Mr. Sinclair, one of the professors, who was a champion of the Covenant, and of course of the Presbyterian form of discipline. Mr. Sharp, on the contrary, opposed the Covenant, and maintained the divine appointment of Episcopacy; and his argument had so much the advantage over his adversary, that Mr. Sinclair gave him the lie direct. This insult Professor

* True and Impartial Account, p. 30.

Sharp resented by a box on the ear, which incident operated rather against Mr. Sharp's reputation; but the superiority of his abilities soon surmounted this blemish. Although of opposite principles, yet he acquired the friendship of the Earl of Crawford, who persuaded him to accept the living of Crail, which was then vacant and in his gift. He accordingly resigned his professorship in the university of St. Andrew's, and retired to Crail, and there in a singular manner exemplified the evangelical precept, as to the wisdom of the serpent and innocence of the dove. Here his labours were most acceptable, and he gained on the hearts of the people by calmness, condescension, and affability. He acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the greater part of his fellow-preachers, though Mr. Blair, and some of the *moroser* sort, used to say, "*they did not believe him SOUND*" (a word then and since of weighty import,) "*and that he spoke through a bishop.*"* So that though he settled at Crail as a Presbyterian minister, yet he still held Episcopal principles, and was suspected by the genuine Presbyterians of being secretly an Episcopalian. At that time he could have no other orders than Presbyterian, for all the Scotch bishops were dead; and the English went abroad to avoid the persecution to which they were subjected.

* True and Impartial Account, p. 32.

At the period of Charles the First's murder, the Presbyterian ministers fell into a great division, and were denominated Protestors, Remonstrators, and afterwards Covenanters. To account for this, we must look back to the year 1638, when a General Assembly, called by Charles I., became guilty of high-treason, and refused to rise when legally dissolved by the king. This illegal assembly condemned the Liturgy—Book of Canons—Book of Ordination—and the Court of High-Commission. It repealed all the acts of Assembly for the preceding forty years ; condemned, deposed, and excommunicated the bishops, as an antichristian corruption ; declared them infamous, and worse than heathens and publicans. It refused to rise when dissolved by the king's commissioner ; but, indeed, all the succeeding parliaments and assemblies both met and enacted laws contrary to the royal authority. At that period, the General Assembly exalted itself above the crown and parliament, and actually repealed acts of parliament. A new oath was invented, called the Solemn League and Covenant, and imposed, contrary to all law, upon all men and women, and even children were compelled to take it ; and such as refused were excommunicated. The consequence of excommunication in Scotland, at that time, was the confiscation of all their moveables, and their persons were placed beyond the pro-

tection of the laws. The lives of the bishops, therefore, were now at the mercy of every man who might lift their hands against them, to avoid which they fled to England. Such was the unhappy posture of Charles's affairs, that he found himself under the necessity of ratifying their illegal acts of assembly, in the parliament of 1641. By that mutilated and illegal parliament, Episcopacy was abolished, and the Presbyterian system established. The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn by the now dominant Presbyterians, and all men forced to comply with it; the object of which is to "endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness." The convention, or parliament, as it has been called, of 1641, abolished patronages by an ordinance, which by the *godly* was thought "worthy of being written in letters of gold." It is a singular fact, that in the history of Presbytery, whenever it reached a point when, in their own opinion, it had neither spot nor wrinkle, it immediately began to backslide. "After this," says

Willison in his Testimony, “a mournful scene opened, by the breaking division that entered into the church, which tended to stop the progress of reformation work, and make way at length for restoring of Prelacy. This was occasioned by some ensnaring questions put to the commission in December, 1650, by the king, (Charles II.,) and parliament, (which they had better have declined to answer,) concerning the admission of persons into places of public trust, civil and military, who formerly had been opposers of the *covenanted* reformation, upon their making public profession of their repentance ; those who were for admitting them being called *public resolutioners*, and those against it, being called *protestors*.”

The protestors or remonstrators, were the violent and fanatical Persbyterians attached to the Solemn League and Covenant. The resolutioners, were the remains of the Episcopal clergy, and were by far the greatest proportion of the kingdom. After the violent extirpation of Episcopacy, the Episcopal clergy submitted to the force which they could not controul ; kept their benefices, and to all outward appearance became Presbyterians. They had been deprived of their lawful governors the bishops, and it was utterly impossible, in the existing state of affairs, to procure the succession of others in their place. No sooner was Epis-

curacy restored, than the resolutioners to a man, recognised and submitted to the new hierarchy. Those who stood out, were the protestors, who were really Presbyterians, and republicans in political principles. In this division, Mr. Sharp, as an Episcopalian in principle, joined the party of the resolutioners, "as being the only men of the whole, who were of the greatest moderation, religion, loyalty, and sincerity." This division laid the country open to Cromwell, "who invaded the land, shed much blood, conquered it, and kept it in bondage ten years. During which time a *sinful toleration* of sectarian errors was granted by Cromwell and his council in Scotland, which brought in great looseness, both in principle and practice." The rupture between these two bodies continued and increased till it involved the whole nation in the flames of malice and hatred. In order to settle their disputes, both parties appealed to Cromwell. "The resolutioners unanimously chose Mr. Sharp, whom they knew to be of a strong head, quick wit, and of a very equal temper. The remonstrators sent up Mr. Guthrie, preacher at Stirling, the very image and compend of the whole party. He represented a hot-headed incendiary, and an impudent rebel, who, with his slanderous tongue, profaned the pulpit; and at Stirling, treated King Charles to his face, as the Old Testament varlet Shimei

did good King David at Bahurim in the days of his distress." *

Cromwell appointed a time and place for hearing both parties. Mr. Guthrie spoke first, and occupied so much time, that Cromwell became impatient, and at his conclusion, looking at his watch, said, he would hear Mr. Sharp at a more convenient season, as he had business of greater importance to attend to. Mr. Sharp begged earnestly to be heard, and promised to be brief. His friend, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, seconded his request, and prevailed on Oliver to hear him. He then turned Guthrie's arguments against himself, and gave such a rational account of his constituents, and their principles, that Oliver was satisfied of the justness of their cause. He was also so much pleased with Mr. Sharp's manner and address, that he remarked, "that after the Scotch manner, he ought to be called *Sharp of that ilk*" "And it is not to be thought," says his biographer, "that a man of Oliver's reach and politics, when he had nipt the growth of the levellers, and fifth-monarchists, would have encouraged men of such factious spirits and distempered brains as the remonstrators of Scotland were. And good it was for the nation that affairs were thus ordered ;

* True and Impartial Account, p. 33.

for if these had prevailed, the pulpits would have made work for the scaffold and gibbet ; and Mr. Sharp, most probably, would have been the first sacrifice ; which made him own on all occasions, that he owed his life to Oliver Cromwell, and was seldom heard to mention him, but he acknowledged his personal merit, and his own obligation.”*

Wodrow’s account of this interview is considerably different ; but as his object throughout his work is to blacken and defame Mr. Sharp’s character, and as his leaning is too obvious towards the protestors, his opinions in all cases are to be received with great caution. He says : —“ Mr. A. Mair, married on Mr. Simpson’s daughter, told me he had the certain account of this from his good-father. Mr. James Simpson and Mr. Gillispie were sent up to Cromwell to prevent misrepresentations which might be made by those that were sent to him from the resolutions, Mr. Sharp and another ; if I remember right, it was Bishop Hamilton. That when they came to him, they told him that they had nothing to look for from him, but were come only to satisfy him, if there were need, as to any representation was made by him from the resolutions. Cromwell called them one day, after

* True and Impartial Account, p. 34, 35.

Sharp had been with him, and pressed them very hard what sort of man Sharp was. They said, he was a very smart man, but they were come only to vindicate themselves, if need were, and not to say any thing to the disadvantage of brethren. After he had listened a long time, to get his character from them in vain; he says, 'Weel gentlemen, since you will not use freedom with me, I will do it with you, and my judgment is, he is *an atheist* and of *no principles* at all.' They said, 'that was a harsh judgment;' 'No,' says Cromwell, 'I do think it; for he proposed to me, to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, and none but an athiest would do that.'"* Upon the same principle, Patrick Gillispie, a protestor minister, must likewise have been an atheist, for he *offered to Charles II., to go all lengths to bring in Episcopacy into Scotland!* and that may be the reason why Wodrow *suppresses* this fact, as related in one of Mr. Sharp's letters.

In a letter, dated London, December 1657, Messrs. Calamy and Ashe, two Presbyterian ministers, represented Mr. Sharp's conduct in this negociation in the most favourable light to Mr. Douglass. They say, "Our reverend brother, Mr. Sharp, hath with much prudence, courage,

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, mostly relative to Scotch Ministers and Christians. M.S., vol. i. 134.

and laboriousness, unweariedly attended and managed the trust committed to him; yea, (as we believe,) he hath secured your cause from sundry aspersions, which otherwise might probably have reproached it; and he hath gained respect in the opinions of some in highest place, by his wisdom and meekness, in vindicating it from misrepresentations. And although the great concernment (which he hath faithfully and zealously minded be not brought to so good a conclusion as was desired and prayed for, yet we see cause to bless God for that which is done, hoping, that through your prudent improvement thereof, it will tend to future advantage."

"It appears to me," says his biographer, "that from this time, we may state the rage of the violent party, (the protestors—for I do not mean to charge the moderate Presbyterians,) which fell heavy on this excellent person, and never left persecuting him till he was an approved confessor and crowned a martyr."* There is no doubt, but that this was the first spring of that malice and hatred that ripened in his murder. His success with Cromwell, too, was doubtless the cause of that confidence which the resolutioners and *moderate* Presbyterians afterwards placed in him, when they sent him to Breda and London

* True and Impartial Account, p. 36.

at the Restoration. After successfully negotiating with the Protector, Mr. Sharp returned to his ordinary parochial duties at Crail. He lived on good terms with the moderate part of the Presbyterian party ; but he was chiefly intimate with James Wood and Robert Douglass, men of worth and eminence. During this sad period of our national history, and while the royal family were in exile, Mr. Sharp kept a regular correspondence with the king. He likewise used every argument with the fainting royalists, to keep up their spirits, and to excite in them attachment and fidelity to the royal interest, of which Charles was always mindful. His growing reputation and the general esteem in which he was held, gained him an access to General Monck, who then commanded the revolutionary army in Scotland ; and who highly esteemed him as a man of great worth and abilities, and admitted him into his confidence.

1660.—Oliver Cromwell died on the 3d of September 1658, and was succeeded in the protectorate, by his eldest son, Richard. For some time previous to his death, Oliver relaxed the rigour of his government against the Scottish royalists ; who were likewise, in general, quiet during the latter years of his protectorate. Yet Charles and his ministers had some difficulty in preventing the loyal clans from rising in arms

against the usurper's government. General Monck, who commanded the English army in Scotland, was among the first to acknowledge the new Protector, and he obliged the army under his command to do the same. Suspicions of his fidelity were however entertained, in which the little court at Breda participated. Richard's brother-in-law, Lord Falconbridge, communicated his suspicions to Henry Cromwell, then lord-deputy of Ireland. Monck, however, cautiously dissembled, and baffled all their attempts to penetrate his designs. In 1659, Mr. Barwick, and some others of the king's friends, persuaded a Mr. Otway, who in his heart was a royalist, to undertake a journey to Scotland and Ireland, to secure Colonels Cloberry and Redman, his brothers-in-law, to the royal cause. Cloberry commanded a regiment under Monck, and Redman one in Ireland. Charles was acquainted with Otway's commission. He had likewise such confidence in Monck, that he despatched Sir John Greenville with the following letter to him, then lying at Dalkeith, dated 21st July 1659 :—

“ Sir,—I cannot think you wish me ill, nor have you reason to do so ; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest. The person who gives or sends this to you, has authority to say much more to you from me ;

and if you once resolve to take my interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your judgment, and will comply with the advice you shall give me; the rest I refer to the person that conveys this to you. It is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always

“ Your affectionate friend,
“ C. R.”

Sir John Greenville made the acquaintance of Monck's brother, a clergyman in Devonshire, whom he entrusted with the king's letter to the general. Monck's brother-in-law, Dr. Clarges, likewise went into Scotland, for the purpose of persuading him to declare for Charles. Richard's council now determined that the elections for parliament should be made agreeable to the ancient constitutional usage. This determination was exceedingly disagreeable to Fleetwood and Desborough, formerly two of Oliver's chief advisers, and they entered into a resolution to depose Richard. This they effected; for he had not spirit enough to take advantage of his popularity with the army, to resist them. He retired upon a pension of £. 10,000 a year, which he enjoyed to the day of his death.

Neither his brother nor Dr. Clarges could ascertain what were Monck's real views. Even Charles and his Chancellor Hyde, had not received any encouragement from him up to the middle of January 1660. Whatever his private

opinions might have been, he kept an impenetrable silence as to his ultimate views and intentions. The government of England had fallen into the hands of a Committee of Safety, over which Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, presided. The committee prorogued the parliament, and Monck and the army protested against their authority. The committee, in turn, resolved to strip Monck of his command; but dared not make the attempt: Lambert endeavoured to excite his officers against him—to put him under arrest—and then take upon himself the command of his army. Dr. Clarges had made a discovery of Lambert's intentions, and put Monck on his guard. When, therefore, Colonel Cobbett, Lambert's emissary, arrived at Monck's head-quarters, he was arrested, and all the suspected officers were immediately cashiered. Monck then secured Berwick-on-Tweed, and called a meeting of all the nobility and gentry, who were in or near Edinburgh. He declared to them that it was his intention to march into England and re-establish the liberties of parliament. At the same time, he recommended to them to maintain the peace of the kingdom, and suppress all riots and commotions during his absence. The royalists considered this as tantamount to a declaration in favour of the king; and a considerable

sum of money was therefore advanced to put his army in motion.

He began his march soon after, and at Haddington received articles from the Committee of Safety, which he rejected. He declared that the articles were contrary to his principles, which were to be governed by a parliament lawfully called, and not by the sword. He halted some time at Berwick-on-Tweed. From Coldstream he sent a pass to Mr. Sharp, minister of Crail, to attend his person without delay, and assist him with his advice. Mr. Sharp's business, however, was to be confidential; and so cautious was Monck, that it does not appear that even his most intimate friends had any certainty of what were his views. The ministers, David Dickson and Robert Douglass, wrote to Monck signifying their entire confidence in Mr. Sharp, and desiring a pass for him, that he might be near his person.* On receipt of Monck's despatches, Mr. Sharp immediately set out from Crail, where he was quietly pursuing his parochial duties. On his arrival, Monck frankly owned to him his intention to restore the king; to which measure, he added, that he was satisfied of Mr. Sharp's hearty concurrence; but found himself greatly

* Wodrow's Introduction. Glasgow Edit. p. 4, 5.

embarrassed how to proceed effectually. He had therefore sent for him to assist him with his advice ; because some in the army, suspecting his intentions, had already deserted. He added, that he was under some apprehensions from Lambert, the parliamentary general, who had advanced against him as far as Newcastle. After a sleep of two hours, Mr. Sharp prepared a declaration in Monck's name, in which he showed the causes of his present posture and march into England. In this manifesto he never mentioned the king's name, but dexterously accommodated his language to the tempers of all the contending parties. This proclamation or address was read next morning at the head of the army, and confirmed the troops in their obedience to their general. It was quickly dispersed over the kingdom, and as was designed, soon reached Lambert's army. Nearly the half of his men immediately deserted to Monck, which proved a considerable stimulus to him in his patriotic designs, and he immediately prosecuted his march on London. Monck, afterwards, repeatedly acknowledged to the king, Mr. Sharp's important services at this critical juncture ; and there is no doubt but that to this cause he afterwards owed his promotion and favour with the king.

Lambert offered to attack the army under

Monck's command, but the faction at Westminster were equally jealous of him as of his opponent. They chose rather to negotiate with Monck for the settlement of the kingdom and the security of parliament. He sent Cloberry, Wilks, and Knight, to treat with the Committee of Safety. Instead of proceeding to London, Cloberry and Knight put the royalists on their guard, and formed connexions in his support. Wilks, however, treated with the Committee of Safety; by whom it was agreed to exclude the king for ever, and to erect a commonwealth, without either king or house of peers;—that there should be a general indemnity,—and nineteen persons appointed to adopt proper qualifications for a parliament. When Wilks returned to Coldstream, Monck put him under arrest, for having exceeded his commission. To gain time, he renewed his negotiation with the Committee of Safety, who now discovered that Monck was trifling with them. The army declared for a free parliament, and it accordingly sat down in January; of which, when Monck heard at Coldstream, he sent Morgan to command the few troops he had left in Scotland, and began his march himself on London. His army was only 6,000 strong; yet so weak were the rump government, and so great was the reaction in favour of the king, that this small band was thought sufficient to restore the king's

government. The parliamentary army was greater and better appointed ; but they could not trust the officers ; and it appears that the rump had imprisoned Lambert. They endeavoured as much as possible to conciliate Monck, and provided quarters for his men in London, which he entered on the 4th of February. This suspicion of their generals is always a feature of republican governments, whose ingratitude is proverbial. From servants, too, military commanders never feel much hesitation in becoming masters : whereas, a king has nothing to fear from the ambition of a successful soldier, who naturally looks to his sovereign for titles and honours. Hitherto Monck had obeyed the commands of the rump ; but he now began to talk to the members of a free parliament. They endeavoured to avoid it ; but he wrote to them peremptorily, requiring them to declare a period to their sitting.

CHAPTER II.

Monck again sends for Mr. Sharp—His instructions—Reflections—Anecdote—Instructions to Wodrow—Anecdotes—Monck's Letter to Douglas—Secluded Members restored—Proceedings of the Rump—Dissolution—Mr. Sharp's Opinion of Affairs—Reaction in favour of the King—Solemn League and Covenant—Mr. Douglass' Letter—Extracts from the Correspondence of Messrs. Douglass and Sharp—Erastianism—Reaction in Scotland—Mr. Sharp agrees to go to Breda—Arrives there, and has an audience of the King—Letter to Mr. Douglass—Extracts of Letters—Liturgy restored in England—Meeting at Sion House—Letter to Mr. Douglass—Reflections—Letters—Thanksgiving—The people in favour of Episcopacy—Letters—Scottish Administration appointed—Committee of Estates—Mr. Sharp leaves London.

It would appear, that after rendering the king that important service at Coldstream, Mr. Sharp had returned to Edinburgh. Wodrow states, that Messrs. Dickson and Douglass wrote to Monck on the 10th of January, requesting a pass for Mr. Sharp, to join him at London : to which Monck replied from Ferry Bridge, desiring Mr. Sharp to come to him with all speed, and enclosing a passport. On the 6th of February, several

ministers of the Presbyterian party met at Edinburgh, and agreed on the following instructions, to be given to Mr. Sharp; from which it is evident, that *toleration* for the religious opinions of others made no part of their creed; so much the contrary, that they denominate toleration as *sinful*.

1. You are to use your utmost endeavours that the kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established judicatures, ratified by the laws of the land.

2. Whereas, by the lax *toleration* which is established, a door is opened to a very many gross errors and loose practices in this church; you shall therefore use all lawful and prudent means to represent the *sinfulness and offensiveness thereof*, and that it may be timeously remedied.

3. You are to represent the prejudice this church doth suffer by the interverting of the vaking stipends, which by law were dedicated to pious uses; and seriously endeavour, that hereafter vaking stipends may be intromitted with by Presbyteries, and such as shall be warranted by them, and no others, to be disposed of and applied to pious uses by Presbyteries, according to the 20th act of the parliament, 1644.

4. You are to endeavour, that ministers lawfully called, and admitted by Presbyteries to the ministry, may have the benefit of the 39th act of the parliament, intituled, act anent abolishing patronages, for obtaining summarily, upon the act of their admission, decreet, and letters conform, and other executorial, to the effect they may get the right and possession of their stipends, and other benefits, without any address or trouble.

5. If you find that there will be any commission appointed in this nation for settling and augmenting of ministers' sti-

pende, then you are to use your utmost endeavours to have faithful men, well affected to the interests of Christ in this church, employed therein.

(Signed) David Dickson, John Smith,
Robert Douglass, George Hutchison,
James Wood, Andrew Ker.

These instructions are dated the 6th February, 1660, and there appears nothing whatever in Mr. Sharp's subsequent conduct, or correspondence, to show that he violated any of them, except it be in the matter of *toleration*. Mr. Douglass, and all who were of his opinions, were allowed that full toleration which they so earnestly represented as *sinful and offensive*, when granted to others. Mr. Sharp did not recommend intolerance, even when he had a favourable opportunity against his political enemies the Protestors. When the king asked his advice at Breda, how to act towards that party, Mr. Sharp replied, "Though it be not fit that your majesty should give them countenance, or put *power* into their hands, yet, I think, *we will all be suitors* to your majesty, that pity and *pardon* may be their measure." It is, however, to be remarked, that these six ministers who met and drew up these instructions, were neither a general assembly nor a synod of the church, nor had they any commission to act in the name of the whole church, or even of the Presbyterians, as a body. They were

not even sanctioned by any synod or presbytery, at that time or afterwards. These instructions can therefore be considered only as containing the views of these six gentlemen. They wrote at the same time to General Monck, and "recommended Mr. Sharp to him as one whom they have instructed, and who is to communicate his instructions with his lordship; and they have sent him up to prevent any bad impressions that may be given of them at London." They add, that "though it be not their way to intermeddle with civil affairs, yet the miseries of the sinking nation make them humbly request his lordship may endeavour to ease them of their grievances." Here is a contradiction to their conduct: for the previous twenty years, the Presbyterians had "intermeddled" in every political transaction, though they felt it now convenient to disclaim it.

Wodrow informs us, "that the ministers," he must mean these six, who signed the instructions above, "promised to hear his (Mr. Sharp's) charges, and to give him £20. sterling. When he came down bishop, those that joined in with him paid their quota, but those that did not join with Episcopacy, refused to pay; whereupon he gave in a bill to the clerk-register, to oblige them to pay him. The clerk-register, Sir A. Primrose, delayed the bringing in of the bill. At length, being pressed by Mr. Sharp, it came in, and the

register said expressly in court, ‘ The Lord bless us! this man is worse than Judas, who, when he betrayed his master, he cast back the thirty pieces ; but this man not only betrays his constituents, but will force them to pay him for so doing!’ The archbishop wrote to court ; but the register had got his letter to one that had the king’s ear before him. When the matter was told the king, and when the bishops of England came to hear the register’s deposition, they passed it as a joke.” This anecdote partakes more of Mr. Wodrow’s private malice against the archbishop, than of the nature of truth. It is reasonable to suppose, that these gentlemen should bear their representative’s expences ; and as they gave bond for the payment, he was entitled to sue those who broke their engagements. But he returned from his mission, restored his instructions, and received the thanks of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, long before he himself was archbishop. He must, therefore, have sued his debtors, if he did so at all, before he was Archbishop of St. Andrew’s. But this, and various other anecdotes related by Wodrow, show how faithful that historian was to the instructions which he received, to blacken the memory of Sharp.

Wodrow received the encouragement of various eminent men, in the prosecution of his laborious work ; but especially from a Mr. George Redpath.

Dr. Burns of Paisley speaks of him in terms of the highest eulogy, and says, “ he seems to have been an indefatigable collector of old records, and is said to have possessed one of the largest collections of the kind of any private individual in Britain. To this friend, Mr. Wodrow submitted his proposal, and a specimen of the history, in autumn, 1717. Mr. Redpath embarked with *all his soul* in the undertaking, and in the following letter gave Mr. W. every encouragement to proceed, while he suggests some hints, that *well deserve the attention* of every inquirer into ecclesiastical antiquities, and the value of which was, no doubt, duly estimated by his amiable and candid friend.” The letter itself is too long, and indeed unnecessary to be cited, but one of the clauses is too remarkable to be passed without notice. It is the only clause of his instructions which “ his amiable and candid friend ” seems to have “ *duly estimated.* ” In short, it seems never to have been for one moment absent from his mind ; and his strict attention to which must, in many material points, vitiate the truth of his history. One clause of the instruction which Dr. Burns says so *well deserves our attention*, is as follows :—

“ As to the *matter*, my opinion is this : that it is like to swell too much upon our hands, because the subject is copious. As this will make the history too bulky and chargeable, it

must be avoided as much as possible. To this end, I would humbly propose, first, that what is merely circumstantial, might be left out, *except* where it is necessary for illustrating the matter, *or aggravating the crimes of our enemies.*"*

Wodrow has faithfully followed out this infamous advice, in all cases, but most especially where Mr. Sharp, whom he esteems a capital enemy, is concerned. He is also so childishly credulous, that no faith can be placed in his opinions. He adopts and records the most absurd and contradictory hear-says and supposititious anecdotes, the absurdity of which the slightest reflection would have shown. His hatred of Sharp is so strong, that he spares no pains to convince his reader that that prelate practised sorcery, and was in personal correspondence with the devil. The following anecdotes he relates with the utmost gravity, as materials for history, in his *Analecta*, and are specimens of what materials his whole history is composed :—

"Upon a time," says he, "when Archbishop Sharp was at Edinburgh, a member of the Privy Council, and active in prosecuting criminally some men who had been at Pentland, he wanted a paper which tended to a farther clearing of the libel, which was in his cabinet in St. Andrew's, and so despatched his footman in haste to bring it, giving both the key of his closet and cabinet, directing him distinctly to the shottle

* Dr. Burns' Memoir of Wodrow, prefixed to his edition of Wodrow's History, pp. 7, 8.

where it lay. The footman came off about ten o'clock in a summer day, and was in St. Andrew's about four o'clock in the afternoon, having run very fast. When he opened the closet door, and looked in, he saw the bishop sitting at a table near the window, as if he had been reading and writing, with his black gown and tippet, his broad hat, just as he had left him at Edinburgh, which did surprise the fellow at first, though he was not much terrified, for being of a hardy frolicsome temper, or a little hallowed as we called it, he spoke to him merrily thus: 'Ho! my lord, well ridden, indeed. I am sure I left you at Edinburgh at ten o'clock, and yet you are here before me. I wonder that I saw you not pass by me.' The bishop looked about over his shoulder, with a severe and frowning countenance, but spoke not a word, so that the footman runs down stairs, and told the secretary or chamberlain, that the bishop was come home. He would not believe him. He averred he saw him in his closet, and that he was very angry, and desired the chamberlain to come up stairs, and he would see him likewise. So they came both up stairs, but before they were fully up, they both saw the bishop standing upon the stair-head, glaring upon them with an angry look, which affrighted them in earnest. Within a little, the footman came up to the closet, and there was nobody there, so he opens the closet, and takes out the paper and comes away in all despatch to Edinburgh, and was there the next morning, when he meets the bishop, and delivered to him the paper, and then told him the former story. Upon which, the bishop, by threats and promises, enjoins him secrecy. My author is the fore-said Mr. J. J."

This story does not hang well together, but it was in exact conformity with the "hints," which Dr. Burns says, "*well* deserve attention." The

following anecdote, with the same laudable intention of "*aggravating the crimes*" of his capital enemy, is in continuation of the former.

"At another time," he says, "Archbishop Sharp presiding in the privy council, was earnest to have Janet Douglass brought before that board, accusing her of sorcery and witchcraft: when she was brought, she vindicated herself of that alleged crime, declaring, though she knew very well who were witches, yet she was not one herself, for she was endeavouring to discover their secret hellish plots, and to countermine that kingdom of darkness. The archbishop insisted she might be put away to the king's plantations in the West Indies. She only dropt one word to the bishop, 'My lord,' says she, 'who was with you in your closet on Saturday night last, betwixt twelve and one o'clock?' upon which the bishop changed his countenance and turned black and pale, and then no more was said. When the council rose, the Duke of Rothes calls Janet into a room, and enquires at her privately, who that person was with the bishop. She refused at first, but he promising upon his word of honour, to warrant her at all hands, and that she should not be sent to America, she says, 'My lord, it was the muckle black deevil.' My author is Mr. P. Tullidaph."*

There is a palpable error in this story, of which Wodrow could not be ignorant. He says, Sharp presided at this council; whereas Rothes

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, or *Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, mostly relative to Scotch Ministers and Christians. M.S., vol. i.: from the year 1701—1709, pp. 161, 162, 163.

was president, and he is said to have been present. Wodrow's design, in both these improbable anecdotes, is transparent—to fix the stain of sorcery and witchcraft on the memory of the archbishop. To accomplish which, he even admits, that one of his own godly old women is guilty of these imaginary crimes. Whenever, therefore, Wodrow gives opinions and unsupported facts, they must be received with incredulity at least, if they be not absolutely rejected.

But to proceed with the history: on Mr. Sharp's arrival in London, he was kindly received by Monck, and also by Messrs. Calamy, Ashe, and Manton. Monck replied to Mr. Douglass, and the gentlemen who signed Mr. Sharp's instructions in reply to their letter, as follows:—

“ Reverend Friends,—I received yours by Mr. Sharp, who is dear to me on many accounts as my very good friend; but coming with your recommendation upon so good and worthy an errand, I cannot but receive him as the minister of Christ, and the messenger of his church; and you may be assured, that I shall improve my utmost interest for the preservation of the rights of your church, and shall do what I can for that afflicted country; which I have great reason to love and be tender of, having experienced so much kindness from you. I doubt not, but you will have a further account from Mr. Sharp, of my great affection to serve you, and that it shall be my care to endeavour, that the gospel ordinances and privileges of God's people may be established both here and

there with you. I do desire your prayers to God, for his blessing upon our councils and undertakings; and entreat you that you would be pleased to promote the peace and settlement of these nations; and do what in you lies, to quiet and compose men's spirits, that we may, waiting with patience, reap the fruits of our hopes and prayers. I have no further, but to beg of God the increase of divine blessings upon your labours, and that you may be kept by his power, as glorious instruments in his work: and desire you to be assured, that none shall be more careful to preserve your profession in that honour they so much deserve, than he who is, your assured friend and servant,

“Drapers’ Hall,
16 February, 1660.”

(Signed) “George Monck.”

On the 21st of February General Monck repaired to the House of Commons and restored the secluded members. Previously, however, he made them sign four articles, the fourth and most important of which was, to consent to the dissolution of the parliament by a certain limited time. By the accession of the secluded members, a majority of the house passed an ordinance, to annul the engagement of 1649—to repeal the oath of abjuration—to release the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale from prison—to declare the Westminster Assemblies’ Confession of Faith, to be the national faith—and the Solemn League and Covenant to be obligatory. They then passed another ordinance for their own dissolution, and for the calling of a new parliament.

The Long Parliament was now dissolved, after having sat nineteen years four months and thirteen days. The liberation of the Earls of Crawford and Lindsay and some other noble Scotchmen, who had been imprisoned since the battle of Worcester, was owing to Mr. Sharp's influence with General Monck. His influence not only with him, but with the leading Presbyterians in England, was very considerable; to whom, next to Monck, all parties made application. Even Johnston of Warriston applied to him to procure a personal pardon for him; but this he declined. He appears, from the first, to have foreseen the restoration of the Episcopal church; and nowhere expresses any objection to it. In his letter of 4th March to Mr. John Smith, he distinctly tells him, that such will be the result. "The great fear is, that the king will come in, and that with him moderate Episcopacy, at the least, will take place here. The good party are doing what they can to keep the Covenant interest on foot; but I fear there will be much ado to have it so. They dare not press the voting for Presbyterian government, lest it bar them from being elected next parliament."* And in his of 10th March, he informs Mr. Douglass, "that the sectarian interest is on the *waning*

* Wodrow's Introduction, p. 8.

hand, and moderate Episcopacy setting up its head." In the same letter, he recommends a commission to be sent from Scotland, to the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, to act in the capacity of Commissioners for that kingdom.

Monck had now the army entirely at his command. So strong was the reaction in favour of the king, that Mr. Sharp wrote: "There is no satisfying the people without the king; a treaty with him will soon be set on foot." Mr. Douglass, in his reply, gives it as his opinion, that it were better to settle Presbyterian government simply. And adds, that he cannot accomplish Mr. Sharp's proposal of sending a commission to the two noble lords. He says, the Protestors were terrified for the return of the king, on account of their miscarriages to him; and he remarks also, that the Scotch were for restoring the king on "Covenant terms" alone. Their schemes were, however, impracticable; for Charles had a surfeit of the Covenant ten years before. The brethren, however, would listen to no other terms, and they addressed the two noblemen above named in favour of the Covenant; but utterly excluding the Protestors from all share of royal favour. Mr. Douglass drew up a paper proposing a coalition of all the different sects of Presbyterians; but which Mr. Sharp evaded, as it had the Solemn League and Covenant for its

fundamental principle in the restoration of the king.

Mr. Sharp had influence with Monck, to stop the appointment of a new set of English judges, which had been appointed for Scotland. In his letter to Mr. Sharp, of the 31st March, Mr. Douglass urged the necessity of a public meeting in Scotland, for choosing commissioners. In it he inveighs against a Mr. Hardie, who had preached in favour of the ancient hierarchy, and the liturgy. In the postscript, he adds, "There is now a generation risen up, which have never been acquainted with the work of reformation, nor with the just proceedings of this nation, and therefore would condemn them, the Covenant, and all their honest and loyal actings, according to the Covenant principles. You will not believe what a *heart-hatred they bear to the Covenant*, and how they fret that the parliament should have revived it. What can be expected of such, but the pursuing of the old *malignant* design, to the marring and defacing of the work of reformation settled here, and well advanced in the neighbouring nations? I am informed, that those are to have a meeting here on the 5th April, and have no purpose to wait upon a warrant, but go on with such an election as will be dissatisfying to the sober and well-affected of the nation. It is matter of admiration, that they are unwilling

that Crawford and Lauderdale (being upon the place, and having given such proof of their honest and loyal affections) should be employed in matters of that concernment; but those worthy, noble men may be assured that the affections of all honest men are upon them. There are three parties here, who have all of them their own fears in this great crisis: the Protestors fear, that the king come in (at all); those above mentioned, that if he come in upon Covenant terms, they be disappointed; and those who love religion and the nation, that if he come not in upon the terms of the League and Covenant, his coming in will be disadvantageous to the religion and liberty of the three nations. Therefore, I exhort Crawford, Lauderdale and yourself, to deal with all earnestness, that the League and Covenant be settled as the only basis of the security and happiness of these nations."

It would appear, from the correspondence of Mr. Sharp with Mr. Douglass and others, that a call had been made to him from a congregation in Edinburgh. This mark of respect Mr. Sharp declined, and recommended some one else; but who is not named.

Both General Monck and Mr. Sharp concurred in opinion, that such a committee as Mr. Douglass recommended would rather embarrass than accelerate the king's restoration. The obtuse-

ness of Mr. Douglass's ideas must have been very great ; and his attachment to "rigid Presbytery," had deprived him of common observation. Mr. Sharp never deceived him on this point, that "rigid Presbytery" was obnoxious to those engaged in the king's restoration ; and that Episcopacy would certainly be established. He told him on the 6th March, "the buzz of some is loud enough, No bishop, no king." On the 27th March, he says to Mr. Douglass, that the printing his sermon at King Charles's coronation, in 1651, had offended the Episcopalians ; and that he knew not how to excuse the Dunfermline Declaration, in which they forced the king to acknowledge his father's guilt." He adds, "some of the Episcopal party have sent messengers to me twice or thrice, to give them a meeting, which I have refused ; and upon this, I am reported, both here and at Brussels, to be a Scottish rigid Presbyterian, making it my work to have it settled here. They sent to desire me to move nothing in prejudice of the Church of England, and they would do nothing in prejudice of our church. I did tell them, it was not my employment to move to the prejudice of any party : and I thought, did they really mean the peace of those churches, they would not move such propositions ; but all who pretend for civil settlement should contribute their endeavours to restore it, and not meddle

unreasonably with those remote cases. The *fear of rigid Presbytery* is talked much of here by all parties ; but, for my part, I apprehend *no ground* for it : I am afraid that *something else* is likely to take place in the church than rigid Presbytery. This nation is not fitted to bear that *yoke* of Christ ; and for religion, I suspect it is made a stalking-horse still.”*

In reply to this, Mr. Douglass says on the 3d April, that Mr. Sharp might, with great propriety, have met with some of the prelatie party. Further, he proposes the principle which himself and all his party have ever so severely censured in Charles, viz. “to leave the *ecclesiastic government to the parliament*, who, as it is to be hoped, being men of conscience, will find themselves bound to settle according to the Covenant !” It is plain, therefore, that had Charles and his parliament established rigid Presbytery and the Covenant, the accusation of Erastianism would never have been mooted. Douglass still insists upon the necessity of sending commissioners from Scotland, and of bringing back the king on Covenant principles. His correspondent as regularly communicates to him the impropriety of such steps ; and also mentions the attempt of a coalition between the less rigid Presbyterians and the

* Wodrow, i. p. 17.

Episcopalians, which was frustrated by the former sticking to their Covenant. In April, Mr. Sharp writes, "I fear the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant shall be neglected; and for religion, I smell that moderate Episcopacy *is the fairest accommodation* which moderate men, who wish well to religion, expect. In reply to this, Mr. Douglass wrote, on the 26th April, a letter, setting forth the evils which he apprehended would be the result of the establishment of Episcopacy. He seems perfectly sincere in his lamentations; and concludes with the following very remarkable admission, which is conclusive of the wishes of the Scottish people. "Whatever kirk government be settled in England, it will have an influence upon this kingdom; for the *generality* of this new, upstart generation have *no love to Presbyterial government*; but are *wearied* of that *yoke*, feeding themselves with the fancy of *Episcopacy*, or moderate Episcopacy."*

The progress of events happily tended towards the royal restoration; and the jealousies and different interests, of all the parties, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, prevented any conditions being imposed on the king. Monck pressed Mr. Sharp for ten days to undertake a journey to the king at Breda, to which he at last consented. He communicated his intentions to Mr. Douglass,

* Wodrow, i. p. 21.

who agreed in the propriety of the journey, and sent him a paper of instructions. The English Presbyterians likewise gave Mr. Sharp a commission to represent their interests with the king. Notwithstanding the repeated assurances that neither the king nor the English nation would listen to the Covenant, and his own acknowledgment of the "*heart-hatred*" of the *generality* of the Scottish nation *to that yoke*, he continues to press rigid Presbytery and the Covenant "*in all his dominions.*" He still further exhibits his intolerant spirit, by directing Mr. Sharp to press on the king, that "he need *not* declare any liberty to tender consciences now, because the generality of the people, and whole ministry, have embraced the established religion by law, with his majesty's consent. It is known, that in all the times of the prevailing of the late party in England, none have petitioned for toleration, except some inconsiderable naughty men!" On the 28th April, Mr. Sharp tells him frankly, "Presbyterians here are few, and all are Englishmen; and these will not endure us to do anything that may carry a resemblance in pressing uniformity, (that is, to Presbytery :) for my part, I shall not be accessory to any thing prejudicial to the Presbyterian government; but to appear for it in any other way than is within my sphere, is inconvenient, and may do harm and not good." It is astonishing to see the intolerant and uncharitable spirit which seems to have actuated Mr.

Douglass, who was otherwise a good and respectable man : he not only wished to force the imposition of the Covenant on all the king's dominions ; but to prevent the use of the Liturgy in the Church of England. He advises that some rigid Presbyterians should be appointed to extemporise in family worship, in the king's household, till the Liturgy can be effectually abolished. He uses the argument, that the Episcopal divines themselves had forborne it for some years. It was time to forbear it, when under the dominion of his beloved Covenant, its use was punishable with *transportation* and *death*. The usurper issued an inhuman decree against the Episcopal clergy, " That they should neither preach nor pray in public, nor baptize, nor marry, nor bury, nor teach school, nor live in any gentleman's house ; nor *even use the Common Prayer Book in private.*"

Mr. Sharp was sent over to Holland in a frigate, and arrived at Breda on the 8th May. He was immediately introduced to the king by the Marquis of Ormond. The next morning, at nine, he had an audience of his majesty in his bedroom, for an hour and a half. In the evening, the king condescended to walk in the garden with him for the space of nearly an hour. The Earl of Glencairn gave Mr. Sharp a letter, addressed to the king, in which his lordship recommends him to his majesty as " a man entirely an Episcopalian

in principle, and the fittest person whom he could trust, to give him correct information respecting both church and state in Scotland." His conduct while at Breda, will be best appreciated by his correspondence with Mr. Douglass. Wodrow introduces a long excerpt from the private papers of Mr. Douglass, to show that Mr. Sharp was corrupted at Breda: but by his previous correspondence from London, it is quite evident that Mr. Sharp, from the first, was by no means favourable to Presbytery. "In all his transactions," says Mr. Guthrie, "he seems to have acted with great prudence and frankness towards his constituents: I can see no great ground for the violent charge brought by Bishop Burnet against the former, for ingratitude and treachery towards his constituents:—he fairly tells Douglass that he would not appear for Presbytery in any other way than within his own sphere."* After his return to London, Mr. Sharp wrote to Mr. Douglass a full account of his proceedings at Breda; but Wodrow only gives a summary of that letter, which is here added complete. He has been accused of very improper motives in having suppressed it, as well as some other letters. It is, however, but justice to Dr. Burns, the editor of an edition of his history, to state, that he has added the letter in a note; but even that would not have been done, had it

* Guthrie's General History of Scotland, vol. x. pp. 74, 75.

not been for the reflections of the author of the True and Impartial Account. It is dated at London, the 29th May, 1660 :—

“ London, 29 May, 1660.

“ Reverend Sir,—Yours, that of May 22d, and of the 8th, with other letters, I received ; and by the last Saturday’s post I could only give you notice of my safe return to London. General Monck gave the occasion for my journey to Holland ; and I did observe a Providence in it, that his motive did tryst with your desire, which gave me encouragement to follow the Lord’s pointing at my going thither, which for any thing doth yet appear, hath been ordered for good. General Monck’s intent for my going was, that I might give his majesty an account of all the passages of his undertaking, from the beginning of it in Scotland, to the progresson he hath made at the time of the parliament owning his majesty’s title ; and that I might acquaint the king how necessary it was to follow the counsels of moderation, in the future management of his affairs : and, 3dly, that I might move his majesty for writing a letter to some of the eminent city ministers, to be by them communicated to the Presbyterian ministers throughout the kingdom, intimating his majesty’s resolution to bear down profanity, and to countenance religion in the power of it. My own special motive for going was to give a timeous information of the condition of poor Scotland, as to the several particulars of which yours of May the 8th doth bear. My thoughts at my going over did run upon divers of these, which digestedly and fully that letter doth mention, and it hath much satisfied me, that upon the perusal of yours at my return, I remembered I hit upon some of those you touched. I came very seasonably in the beginning of the growth of the court, and was the first minister of the kingdoms who made an address avowedly to the king since his exile ; which I did with the more confi-

dence, that having your warrant before my going, I made it in the name of the body of the ministry of the church of Scotland, who had persevered in their integrity and loyalty in all revolutions. I cannot express what welcome I had, and with how kindly an acceptance my application was entertained by his majesty, who was graciously pleased to put such a respective (respectful) usage upon me, all the time I was there, as it was noticed by all at court. I do not mention this out of a tickling vanity, but as an evidence, amongst others, of our prince's affection to our country and kirk, of which I am abundantly satisfied, though before my going over, he was falsely represented, even to some of the Presbyterian judgment, as an enemy and hater of both. He did at Breda, at his (own) table, upon occasion, give his public testimony to the fidelity and loyalty of his kingdom of Scotland, and to me in private, more than once or twice; and I am persuaded, a sweeter and more affectionate prince never a people had. The first time he allowed me to speak to him in private, which was for the space of one hour and a half, I took it up in giving a full account of General Monck's proceedings, and of the activity of those of our nation to improve that opportunity for his majesty's service. The next time he called me to him in the garden, where he caused me to walk with him, almost 200 gentlemen being at his back. Almost two hours were employed in his moving questions, and my answering, about the affairs of the parliament; and in the close somewhat in reference to Scotland, and asking kindly how it was with the ministers who had been in the Tower, and with Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Wood and Mr. Bailey, of which I gave you some touch in my letter from Breda. The third time he spoke to me (doing it upon every occasion he saw me) was in the princess royal's room, where I was amazed to hear him express such knowledge and remembrance, both as to persons and things relating to Scotland while he was there, as if the passages had been re-

cently acted. He mentioned ministers south and north, and other persons, not forgetting John Boswell of Kinghorn, and another in Crail, where, he said, himself was provost; asking how it was with them. There was opportunity of speaking of those with whom we have had so much vexation, (the Protestors or Remonstrators,) and of the condition of our kirk, and the carriage of honest men in it; and had he not been taken up by the interposing of a lord, come straight from England, I think I had said all was then upon my heart in reference to that matter. After this, the court thronging by multitudes from England, and the crowd of his affairs growing upon him, it was unbecoming for me to press for private conferences; but when he did call to me, which he was pleased to do twice more before his coming from Breda, and both those times, he asked me only about some of his concerns with General Monck, bidding me at the last time meet him at his first coming to the Hague, which was upon May the 15th, (and) wait upon (him), to receive my despatch immediately to England, both as to General Monck, and the letter to the city ministers. When I offered to speak a word in reference to Scotland, he told me, he would reserve a full communing about that till his coming to England. And indeed it had been unseasonable and impertinent for me to have urged further, finding the necessity of his affairs in England so urgent: but this I can say, that by all these opportunities I had, in every one of which I did not omit the moving about Scotland, I found his majesty resolved to restore the kingdom to its former civil liberties, and to preserve the settled government of our church; in both which I was bold expressly to move, and had a very gracious satisfying answer. Upon the apprehension that I might be sent into England presently upon his majesty's arrival at the Hague, I hastened from Breda by the way of Dort, Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leyden, to take a transient view of these goodly towns; and came the next day after the king to the

Hague ; about the very time of the reception of the commissioners from the two houses, and the city to which I was an eye-witness. Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Spoistre, Mr. Case, Mr. Manton, were received privately in his bed-chamber. They delivered a letter, signed by above eighty ministers met at Sion College : I am promised a copy thereof, which I shall send unto you (and had done it before this, could they have given me one, because they had left it in the city). They expressed much satisfaction with his majesty's carriage towards them ; speaking him to be a prince of a deep knowledge of his own affairs, of singular sweetness and moderation, and great respectiveness towards them ; but they were much more satisfied as to these, after they had spoke with him, two by two in private, three days after ; in so far, as they speak highly to his commendation to all their friends, as a most excellent prince, restored for a public blessing to these nations ; and do profess it to be their duty to promote his interest among their people. They have often since said to me, they have no reserve nor hope, but in his majesty's good disposition and clemency. At my coming to the Hague, when I had gone to the lord-chancellor, who, by the king's order was to give me my despatches, he desired me to stay so long as the London ministers stayed, telling me he would send by another, the king's pleasure to General Monck. I was ready to lay hold upon this motion, knowing that the king was speedily to go for England, and so kept in company with those ministers, and thereby had occasion to know what may give me ground of a probable conjecture of the tendency of matters, as to the ordering of religion in England. I have much to say of this purpose, which I cannot communicate in this way. At present, I shall only say this, that for me to press uniformity for discipline and government, upon the king and others, I find would be a most disgustful employment, and successless : for, though the king could be induced to

be for it, it were not in his power to effectuate it; the two houses of parliament, and the body of this nation being against it, and, if I may speak what I know, and could demonstrate to you, *it is already past remedying*: I know very few, or none, who desire it, much less appear for it, and whoever do report to you, or believe, that there is a considerable party in England, who have a mind for Covenant uniformity, they are mistaken; and as you judge by what you write in that of May 8th, if they themselves will not press it, we are free. I see no obligation by Covenant, to impose that upon them which they care not for. If you knew at a distance, what I have occasion to know since my coming hither of this matter, I am confident you would not be very urgent on that point. For my part, I shall have no accession to what may cross that uniformity; but I have no freedom to an employment which can have no other effect, but the heightening of an odium upon our church, which is obnoxious already to many upon such an account, though I know causelessly. I have heard of your letter to Messrs. Calamy, Ashe, and Manton, which Mr. Ashe only hath seen, Calamy and Manton not being in town: and the rumour goes up and down the city, (I know not if occasion be taken by that letter,) that the ministers of Scotland have declared their dissatisfaction that the king is brought in, but upon the terms of the Covenant. I am afraid that such rumours are, at this moment, studiously raised, and I see more and more the need we have of using caution with those here: we have had large experience of *Anglorum, &c.*, and I have cause to think that we shall have a discovery of it, as much now as ever.

“ I shall present your letter to his majesty at the first opportunity, which I think I cannot have till some days pass over, because of the great press upon him at his first entry into Whitehall. God hath done great things for him, I pray He may do great things by him. It hath

been observed, that never did any prince enter upon his government with such a general repute and applause. The satisfaction expressed by the Dutch, could not be more if he had been their own sovereign : and for England, the expressions of ecstatic joy and universal exultation are admirable. This day, from morning till seven o'clock, I have been a spectator of what the magnificence and gallantry of England could bring forth in testimony of the greatest reception, was, they say, ever given to their king ; the manner whereof you will have by the diurnal ; and it hath taken up so much time to me, that the post calling, I have confusedly writ this, and must break off till the next, with commending you to the Lord's grace, who am,

“ Yours, &c ,

“ James Sharp.”

It is evident from this letter, that Mr. Sharp had executed the business entrusted to him by the resolutioners. And it is equally conspicuous, that Charles had no intention of establishing a covenant which had been the destruction of his house. But even if he had been favourably disposed towards that disloyal instrument ; yet “ it was not in his power to effectuate it.” The two houses of parliament and the great body of the English nation were against it. Besides, his majesty expressly informed him, that “ he was resolved to restore the kingdom to its *former* civil liberties and to preserve the settled government of our church.” Mr. Sharp repeatedly reminded his constituents, that moderation and forbearance would be more serviceable

to them, than an importunity for Covenant uniformity. There were no less than twenty-eight of the Scottish nobility then at court; but it does not appear that either singly or as a body, they had advocated the cause of Presbytery. The contrary appears rather to have been the case.

Of the same date, Mr. Douglass pressed on Mr. Sharp the establishing of the Covenant and rigid Presbytery in England, as well as in Scotland. Above all, the Liturgy seems to have alarmed him even more than Episcopacy. "If," says he, "the Lord shall keep them from the service-book, and prelacy, and settle religion among them according to the Solemn League and Covenant, we have all we desire, and shall look on it as a gracious return to our prayers on their behalf." His hostility, however, was of no avail. On the 2d of June, Mr. Sharp wrote to him—"In the House of Peers, upon a motion made that the form of prayer appointed in the Liturgy to be used in that house, be practised, *it is done*. The service-book is not yet set up by both Houses, but they will probably soon do it in all churches." At a very full meeting of Presbyterian ministers at Sion House, a motion to petition parliament in favour of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, and form of Church Government, was lost, by being referred to a committee. "And," says he, "from any observation

I can make, I find the *Presbyterian cause wholly given up and lost*. The influencing men of the Presbyterian judgment are content with Episcopacy of Bishop Usher's model, and a Liturgy somewhat corrected, with the ceremonies of surplice, cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, if they be not imposed by a canon, *sub pœna aut culpa*. And for the Assembly's Confession, I am afraid they will yield it to be set to the door; and that the Articles of the Church of England, with some amendments, take place. The moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians fear, that either the high Episcopal men be uppermost, or that the Erastians carry it from both. As for those they call rigid Presbyterians, there are but few of them, and these only to be found in the province of London and Lancashire, who will be inconsiderable to the rest of the nation. A knowing minister told me this day, that if a synod should be called by the plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry Episcopacy. There are many nominal, *few real Presbyterians*. The cassock-men do swarm here; and such who seemed before to be for Presbytery, would be content of a moderate Episcopacy. We must leave this in the Lord's hands, who may be pleased to preserve to us what he hath wrought for us. I see not what use I can be any longer here. I wish my neck were out of the collar. Some of our country-

men go to the *Common Prayer*. All matters are devolved into the hands of the king, in whose power it is to do absolutely what he pleases, in church and state. His heart is in His hand, upon whom are our eyes." In another letter of the same date, Mr. Sharp says, "I find our Presbyterian friends quite taken off their feet, and what they talk of us and our help, is merely for their own ends. They stick not to say, that had it not been for the vehemency of the Scots, Messrs. Henderson and Gillespie, &c., set forms had been continued; *and they were never against them. The king and (Scottish) grandees are wholly for Episcopacy*; the Episcopal men are very high."—"The parliament, when it meets, will make all void since 1639, and so the king will be made king, (that is, absolute there; in Scotland, to wit, as here,) and dispose of places and offices as he pleases."

Notwithstanding all these plain warnings, Mr. Douglass still continues to urge his favourite Covenant and rigid Presbytery. He seems to have been smitten with judicial blindness; and, to cover his own infatuated folly, he raised the clamour of Sharp's apostacy. Sharp was by no means a man of such influence or consequence, that he could have either forwarded or retarded the king's intentions. We find the Scottish noblemen—of whom there were twenty-eight then at court, besides gentlemen—going to

common prayers, and *wholly for Episcopacy*. What then could Mr. Sharp singly have done to stem such a torrent ? But, I confess, that it appears to me that Douglass himself betrayed the rigid Presbyterians, by refusing repeated invitations to repair to London and advocate their cause himself ; more especially as he says he suspected Mr. Sharp's sincerity. And if he did, why did he not supersede him, and go himself to London, particularly as Mr. Sharp was so urgent to be recalled ? It appears exceedingly strange too, that men of such tender consciences should have been so urgent to enforce rigid Presbytery, the Covenant, and extempore worship upon the Church of England ; but our wonder will cease, when the same men expressed such horror at the idea of toleration.

In his letter of the 9th of June, Mr. Sharp again assures Mr. Douglass that his efforts were perfectly unavailing to set aside the determination of the king's government for the establishment of Episcopacy ; and that the noblemen then at court would make no opposition to it. Several letters passed between the parties, the one still urging rigid Presbytery and the Covenant, not only in Scotland, but in England ; the other as regularly assured his friends in Scotland, that nothing was further from the king's intentions than to establish these in either country. The following letter is copied from the " True and Im-

partial Account of Archbishop Sharp's Life,"
&c. :—

“ London, 14th June, 1660.

“ Reverend Sir,—I have received none from you by this post. This day the king called for me, and heard me speak of our church matters, which, I perceive, he doth thoroughly understand, and remembered all the passages of the public resolutions. He was pleased again to profess, that he was resolved to preserve to us the discipline of our church, as it is settled among us. When I spoke to him of [his] calling a General Assembly, he said he would call one as soon as he could ; but he thought the parliament would be called and sit first. I found the end of his majesty's calling for me, was to give me notice, that he thought it not convenient to send for ministers from Scotland at present : when his affairs were here brought to some settlement, he would then have time and freedom to speak with them, and to send for them to come to him. He thought it was fit for me to go down, and give you notice of this and the state of his affairs here, and said that he would write by me to you ; and called to one of his bed-chamber to seek for your letter which I delivered, saying, it would be found in one of his pockets, and a return should be sent, and my despatch prepared this next week. I find his majesty speaking of us and our concernments most affectionately, [and that I needed not to inform him of the usage we have had from the Remonstrators.]

There hath been some talk in the city of a petition from the ministers, about religion ; but some leading men not thinking it expedient, it is waived. Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Manton were sworn yesterday chaplains [in ordinary to his majesty, by the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain.] Some say Mr. Baxter is to be admitted one also. [They have this indulged to them,] that when it is their course they shall not be tied to officiate at the Liturgy, but others hav-

ing performed that service, they shall only be tied to preach, till they be clear to do it. The king hath ordered a letter to Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy, intimating that they may nominate ten to themselves of their judgment, to meet in a conference, [about the settling of the church,] with twelve of the Episcopal party, whom he would nominate himself. [In the meanwhile, the Episcopal men increase and get ground. One of the king's chaplains was made Dean of Westminster, the other day; and Dr. Cosins, Dean of Durham; they talk as if there were divers nominated to be bishops in Ireland. I find that it is intended that the field-forces be withdrawn from us how soon can be; but that the garrisons be kept still, till the king's affairs take settling. Some stumble at this exceedingly, others are satisfied after they have spoke with the king and known his mind. The Lord Broghill is come to town, and doth remember you all very kindly. The Earls of Cassilis and Loudon came to town last night; I purpose to-morrow to visit them, having notice of their lodgings. I commend you to the Lord's grace,] who am,

"Yours, &c.

(Signed) "James Sharp."

The words within brackets are carefully omitted by Wodrow: they are not of very great importance, but it gives a shrewd suspicion, that the author who could suppress words or sentences, which he thinks makes against his party, would be equally on the alert to *insert* others to answer his own views. Considering Mr. Sharp's principles, and the general tenor of his letters, there are occasionally contradictory, or at least inconsistent expressions to be met with in them. Knowing Mr. Wodrow's bias, his private instructions,

and these suspicious omissions, it is not unfair to conclude, that he has delicately inserted words to make Mr. Sharp appear a rigid Presbyterian, which he was not. There was a design in omitting the word "*his*," in the passage respecting the calling of a general assembly. He wished it to appear, that the king had conceded that he had not the right of calling an assembly. The reflection on the Protestors conveying such an imputation on the "rigid Presbyterians," could not be very palatable to their panegyrist, and therefore is omitted. Charles had formed a fixed dislike to Presbyterianism—which he denominated "a religion not fit for a gentleman,"—from the insults and mortifications which he experienced from its members in 1650. The factious demands of the rigid Protestors were not calculated to soften his prejudices; and "the generality of the new upstart generation had *no love for* Presbyterian government."

Instead of going himself to London, and prosecuting the Covenant obligation, Mr. Douglass keeps constantly writing about it, after Mr. Sharp has repeatedly told him that it was doomed to everlasting oblivion. On the 16th of June, Mr. Sharp again informs him: "If information you have received about the state of affairs here, have come from better grounds than what I have given, I shall not justify my mistake; but for any

observation I can make, I profess it still to be my opinion, that *I know no considerable number, and no party in England, that will join with you for settling Presbyterian government, and pursuing the ends of the Covenant.*” “Discerning men see, that the gale is like to blow for the Prelatic party; and those who are sober will yield to a Liturgy and moderate Episcopacy, which they phrase to be effectual Presbytery; and by this salvo, they think they guard against the Covenant. I know this purpose is not pleasing to you, neither to me.” No, nor to any man who is in sincerity, either Presbyterian or Episcopalian. Expediency is always bad; and this mixture of Presbytery and Prelacy was nothing else.

A solemn thanksgiving was observed in the realm of England, for the happy restoration of the church and monarchy; and on the 19th June, a similar festival was observed in Scotland. A candid and impartial author observes, when recording it: “As to the clergy, their own imprudence gave Charles too good a handle for reinforcing his garrisons, and increasing the standing army in Scotland. They held numerous meetings; and in the synod of Lothian, Douglass being the leader of the Resolutioners who had observed a day of thanksgiving for the king’s restoration, *inveighed with such indecent bitter-*

ness against Prelacy, as gave the most melancholy apprehensions to all the moderate part of the kingdom.”* Of this Mr. Sharp complained, and said, “I hear your pulpits ring against the course of events here, and *your* sermons are observed particularly.” In all his letters he continues to assure Mr. Douglass that the English nation, as one man, are attached to their ancient church—that “Petitions come from the counties for Episcopacy and the Liturgy”—and that “the generality of the people are doting after Prelacy and the service-book.”

The author of the “True and Impartial Account” has inserted the following letter of Mr. Sharp to Mr. Douglass, but without any date. Wodrow, however, dates it 28th of June. On comparing them, I find some omission on Wodrow’s part. Those words within brackets are what have been omitted by that “amiable and candid” author. The former says, that the nine letters which he has inserted, “I can assure the reader are all taken from copies of them, written with his (Mr. Sharp’s) own hand, which he kept, as he did copies of everything of importance that he despatched: but whether or not Mr. Wodrow’s copies be genuine, is more than I can tell, not having leisure to compare

* Guthrie’s History, vol. x. p. 79.

them. What other false abbreviates, interpolations, &c. Mr. Wodrow has used in this matter, I had no leisure to examine; but *ex ungue leonem*." * This letter is satisfactory proof of Mr. Sharp's integrity; and, besides, it exposes the hypocrisy of Gillespie, in offering to establish Episcopacy in Scotland.

"Reverend Sir,—I cannot see how it is possible for me or any one else to manage the business committed to me by your letters of the other week, with any shadow of advantage; but a certain prejudice will follow upon our further moving in these particulars, which were so disgusting here. I am baited upon all occasions with the Act of the West Kirk, and the declaration at Dunfermline. [It cannot be believed what advantages are thereby taken, both by our professed adversaries, and those who formerly carried as friends. As to the Protestors' (or Remonstrators) meeting, it is well you have not mingled with them: sure they must have a strange daring confidence, that they offer to send up one hither. I cannot say they will have welcome; and though I have been sparing to speak of them—finding that the king and others sufficiently know and hate their way—yet the next time I speak with the king, I will give them one broadside.] Their doom is dight, unless it be that some, upon design of heightening our division, to break our government, do give them any countenance, [which I am not apt to believe will be done; though I hear it is whispered by some noblemen here, that it were fit this were done. I had it from a sure hand, that the other week, Gillespie's wife came to the Lord Sinclair, and having wept, told him, that the stream against her

* True and Impartial Account, p. 10—12.

husband, she saw to be so great, as he would be ruined; desired if she might use freedom with his lordship. When he had bid her speak what was in her heart, she showed him a letter from Mr. Patrick to her, bearing that she might deal with the Lord Sinclair, that he would move the king on his behalf, and *know what length his majesty would have him to go as to the bringing in Episcopacy into Scotland*; and give all assurance that he would do the king service to the *utmost*, and nothing could be enjoined to him for *promoting thereof*, *which he would not most faithfully and vigorously obey and perfect*. This Sinclair has undertaken to move, (as seeing no other way for securing of Patrick,) and was prompted to it by the person to whom he communicated it, who yet resolves to break the design upon that account by another way; for I find our noblemen have no will of Gillespie's coming into play, knowing his domineering humour.

“ For any thing doth yet appear to me, I find it is well that you have not come up at this time, upon several respects. I see] no good will follow upon this accommodation they are upon with the Episcopal party; for those who profess the Presbyterian way, *resolve to admit of moderate Episcopacy*; and the managing of the business by papers will undo them. The Episcopal men will catch at any advantage they get by their concessions, and after all resolve to carry on their own way. These motions about their putting in writing what they would desire in point of accommodation, are but to gain time and prevent petitionings, and smooth over matters, till the Episcopal men be more strengthened. I find that there is a conjecture, and [I suspect] not without grounds; that Middleton shall be commissioner to the parliament. It is resolved, the garrisons shall not be taken off before the next summer; the committee of estates will sit down and make work for the parliament, which will be called soon after. The king hath declared his resolution not to meddle with our church-

government, which hath quieted the clamourings of some ranting men here, as if it were easy to set up Episcopacy amongst us.

“I saw this day, a letter from [an intelligent person] in Paris, bearing, that some learned men of the Protestants in France, and of the professors of Leyden, were writing for the lawfulness of Episcopacy; and if the king would write to the [provincial] Assembly at Charenton, in July next, there would be no doubt of their approving his purpose to settle Episcopacy in England. I find our noblemen fast enough against Episcopacy amongst us; but I suspect some of them are so upon a state interest, rather than conscience; and all incline to bring our church-government to a subordination to the civil power. [I have read your last about the Protestors’ meeting, to Crawford and Lauderdale. It is not probable that that party shall have any countenance;] sure the committee of estates and parliament will exercise severity towards them. I would gladly come off, but fear I cannot get away these ten days. [I must take leave of the king, and have some time to speak with him and some of the grandees, which in this throng cannot easily be done. I will be forced to draw a bill from this upon my brother. These ten days I fear I shall not be in readiness to come away, and therefore you may write till you hear from me.]

“Yours, &c.,

(Signed) “James Sharp.”

A passage in Mr. Douglass’s letter of the 3d of July, shows distinctly that Mr. Sharp had warned his friends in Scotland, and that they perfectly understood him, that Episcopacy would be established there. “If,” says Mr. Douglass, “it be your mind at court, that we should not

speak of Presbyterian government in Scotland, and that our Covenant may be kept here, then I hope never to be of it, for we had never more need considering the *temper of many here*, and of our countrymen with you." Here is an unequivocal acknowledgment—and it is the more valuable as it comes from an adversary—that the Scottish people were favourable to Episcopacy.

In his letter of the 3d of July, Mr. Sharp says:—"The king hath not yet considered how to manage his affairs as to Scotland, and all he says to our countrymen here will be but for the fashion. That which will be effectual must proceed from his cabinet-council, consisting of three persons whom he will call in a few days, and set apart some time with them on purpose to manage Scotch affairs." The rigid Presbyterians in Ireland had also been preaching furiously against Episcopacy. In the same letter he says:—"General Monck desires you may write to the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland to leave off their *indiscreet* preaching against the king, and not praying for him." Notwithstanding the plain warning which had been given him of coming events, Mr. Douglass says, on the 12th of July, "Your matters at London are yet a mystery to me." On the 7th of July, Mr. Sharp acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Douglass's letter of the 28th of June, and writes as follows :

The words between brackets, are again left out by honest Wodrow.

“ London, 7th July, 1660.

[“ Reverend Sir,—Yours of the 28th of June I have received. I did write by that Saturday’s post, which you mention did not come to hand ; every week I write twice at least. My return is still delayed, though I press it from day to day, because the king’s letter, which he is to send by me, is not in readiness. I spoke yesterday with the Secretary of State, and this day with the Marquess of Ormonde, who have both engaged for an opportunity for me to speak with the king. I could any day go to his majesty, and get a word of him, but to have that time and privacy which is fitting for my speaking what I would before parting, is difficult in his throng of applications to him. The next week I am hopeful to have the occasion, and therefore I must have patience under this disappointment as to the speedy return I expected.] Since my last by the Tuesday’s post, the ministers have had several meetings at Sion College [about the drawing of a paper to be presented to the king, bearing three concessions in the matter of church-government and worship.] They have many debates, and though all who meet are not of one mind, yet they have agreed to Episcopacy, moderated according to Bishop Usher’s reducement ; to set forms of prayer, to the former liturgy, [if amended by such divines as shall be nominated for that purpose]. They desire liberty from ceremonies. [The paper (it is said) will be in readiness this night. The most of the Episcopalians proceed to impose their way ; some pretend to moderation. The House of Commons having appointed a committee for religion, do now and then start some motions about the reports of that committee.] Some, yesterday, spoke in the house for Episcopacy. Mr. Bamfield offering to speak against it, was hissed down [by the clamours

of others, which suits not with the orders of the house.] Some lawyers are giving papers to the court, *proving* (Mr. W. says, 'to show') that the bishops of England have not been outed by law [of any point of their jurisdiction, save of the High Commission Courts.] The cloud [upon public affairs upon this and several other accounts] is become more dark than was apprehended. The Lord reigns, and knows how to be seen in his glory, and to appear for his own interests. To his grace you are commended by,

"Yours, &c,

(Signed) "James Sharp."

"[P.S. Sir John Clotworthy told me, that he expected this night] three ministers from Ireland, Messrs. Hart, Richardson, and Kaies. Their coming is very ill relished by the Commissioners from the Convention who are here, who have petitioned that Episcopacy [be settled there; and accordingly, the most are nominated by the king; Branshall, Primate of Armagh, Dr. Taylor, Bishop of Down, &c.]"

The following letter being of the same date, 7th July, I here subjoin ; but which is altogether suppressed by Wodrow, except the two sentences, —"the Presbyterians are like to be ground betwixt two mill-stones. The Papists and fanatics are busy." These two sentences he has put into the close of the former letter, as if they had originally been in it.

"Sir,—I am exceedingly impatient of the delay of my despatch; those who should draw the king's letter, are so taken up with English business, that I cannot get them to set about this. However, I have a toilsome life of it; the Lord's anger seems not yet to be turned away from these

kingdoms. Affairs here begin to be much involved, many foreseeing men apprehend a breach ; we know not upon what foundation to stand. The Presbyterians are like to be ground betwixt two mill-stones ; the papists and fanatics are busy at work. I cannot write what I would, but he is now returned who said God make all well. This is a strange people. I wish our countrymen were at home. Argyle, this day, I hear, hath come to town, and some believe he will not find a very kindly welcome. The king is baited with contrary applications from our countrymen, as if they were two factions driving to the old divisive work ; we must look on, and wait what the Lord will do. It is promised that in the beginning of the next week, both Scotland and Ireland shall have their answer from the king. The parliament have done nothing as to the public settlement, and to the paying of the army as yet."

The following letter is altogether suppressed by Wodrow, the object of which seems to be to conceal Mr. Sharp's liberality in pleading with the king for a toleration for the Protestors :—

" Sir,—You mention not the receipt of mine of the 14th. I thought his majesty's gracious answer would be acceptable to you ; and albeit it be ready, and the king hath approven it *in terminis*, yet I am advised not to take it till it be signited, which is only delayed till the king declare the secretary, of which we are every day in expectation ; and then I hope I shall have no longer stop. It was told here three days ago, by the Earl of Tweeddale, that Mr. Stirling had disclaimed lately the Remonstrance, and owned the public Resolutions : it seems he begins to be afraid of sklenting of bolts. For me, I can say it, I have not been accessory to any thing done, or to be done against the Protestors, further than to the justi-

rying of our cause, and endeavouring they might not have any countenance put upon them, which I am free to profess; and when I heard of a process to secure some ministers among them, I did interpose, that it might not be executed at present. Their folly is so manifest to all now, that their wonted impudence will not cloak it.

“ I shall mention to you some passages of my discourse with the king at Breda, he asking me what should be done with those Remonstrators; in my answer, I closed with this: ‘ Though it be not fit your majesty give them countenance, or put power into their hands, yet, I think, we will all be suitors to your majesty, that pity and pardon may be their measure.’ The king with a smile replied unto me, ‘ Were they in your case, they would not allow you such a measure.’ We have sufficiently found evidences of their malice against us, I pray it may not be charged upon them.

“ Our noblemen yesterday paid their thanks to his majesty, for his gracious condescensions to their humble desires, and in the beginning of the next week, such as may get off, will be dropping away. The Countess of Crawford, with the Earl of Haddington, and Ardross, think of taking journey on Monday; my Lord Crawford will speedily follow after, if he do not come along. It is a great trouble to me thus to be detained, could I tell how to help it.

“ Yours,

“ J. S.”

Mr. Wodrow has made free in his usual way with the following letter, and has made an unpar-donable alteration of a word, which gives an entirely different sense to the sentence. Mr. Sharp says, “ there are *several* complaints :” but Wodrow substitutes the word “ *universal*,” for several; the object is transparent.

“ London, 14th July, 1660.

“ Reverend Sir,—I received yours of the 5th. I have communicated your thoughts upon the matter of accommodation to [some] of the brethren here. They have some sense of the inconveniences you have mentioned, but they excuse themselves from the present necessity, and the duty they owe to the peace of the church. They gave in their paper of Wednesday last to the king, which he ordered not to be communicated till his further pleasure be made known. [This hath put a stop to my obtaining a copy of those concessions, which yet within a day or two I am hopeful to procure, and shall send it to you.] His majesty, after hearing them read that paper, did commend it as savouring of learning and moderation; and hoped it might give a beginning to a good settlement of the church. [He said he would hear what the Episcopal men would offer, and before he proceeded to a determination, he would acquaint them. They told me they were entertained with fair, smooth expressions, from his majesty and the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of St. Albans being present.] When I had an account of the contents of that paper, I asked, if they thought it consistent with their Covenant engagements? They told me they judged so, for they had only yielded to a constant presidency, and a reformed Liturgy. [I am at the writing hereof now straitened, that by this I cannot give you an account of those passages; but for any thing I can conjecture,] I fear, they have thereby given a knife to cut their own throats, and do find that the Episcopalians prosecute their own way. This morning his majesty was pleased to call me into his closet alone, where I had the opportunity to give a full information as to all those particulars you by your former letter did desire; and I must say, we have cause to bless the Lord [on behalf] of so gracious a king. [He hath ordered a letter to be written within a day or two, which, I hope, will be refreshing to all

honest men. After this, he will call for me once more, and then order my return, which I do passionately long for, were it the Lord's good pleasure to take me off this toil. The parliament have voted the king's lands to be restored into his possession; it is thought ere long, the bishop and dean and chapter's lands will also be restored.] There are several (W. says *universal*) complaints of the ejection of many good ministers throughout the land, and the readmission of many not well qualified, [because they have a legal title to their livings, which the others have not. A messenger from the Sound (Elsinore) this night gives certain intelligence of a peace concluded amongst the Protestant princes, the Swede, Dane, and Brandenburger. They speak of an address to the Prince of Condè, to be king of Poland; and that there is a rebellion in Rome raised against the pope. This afternoon, the king commanded my Lord Lauderdale to go to the Tower, and examine Lambert about the conferences at the Lady Hume's house, in the 48, about his correspondences with Scotsmen, during the time of the wars, and his intelligences at the time of his being in Newcastle, this winter, in all which Lauderdale received no account of any moment: his lordship would have me go along with him, (but I was not present at their conference,) and paying some visits in the city hath kept me so late, that I must break off.

“ I am, yours,
(Signed) “ James Sharp.”

“ P. S. We hear our last letters were stopped.”]

Towards the latter end of July, the king appointed his ministers for Scotland. General Middleton was created an earl, and appointed royal commissioner in the ensuing parliament. The Earl of Glencairn was made chancellor; the

Earl of Lauderdale, secretary—the Earl of Crawford, lord treasurer—Sir John Gilmour, president of the session—Sir Archibald Primrose, clerk register—Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Fletcher, king's advocate. The English judges, who had been appointed before the Restoration, to the civil and criminal courts in Scotland, were deprived of their commissions. New courts were erected, and those judges who were alive and had been expelled during the late usurpation, resumed their seats. “Upon the whole, therefore,” says Guthrie, “we have no occasion to have recourse to the apostacy and treachery of Sharp, to account for the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, as it was an almost inevitable measure, in whatever manner he had acted. The king had made his triumphal entry into London on the 29th of May, amidst such universal acclamations of his subjects, that he said, ‘he wondered what had become of the people who had kept him so long abroad!’ The Earl of Clarendon, who acted as his first and sole minister, had kept a regular correspondence with Glencairn, Middleton, and an amazing variety of other people of Scotland; and Charles himself was well acquainted with the state and disposition of parties there.”* Burnet insinuates, that

* Gen. History, vol. x. p. 78.

Middleton had secret instructions respecting Episcopacy. There appears, however, no better authority for this insinuation than his own suspicions. It cannot be doubted, from Mr. Sharp's correspondence, but that Charles's resolution to restore Episcopacy had been matured. He tells Mr. Douglass the sum of what the king was pleased to grant, as to church matters, was put into writing for his signature and privy seal ; the heads of which, Mr. Sharp then communicated, but which Wodrow thinks were unnecessary to be inserted. Mr. Sharp there expresses his thankfulness at the conclusion of his labours ; and adds, "I have asserted our cause to his majesty and others, *and pleaded for pity and compassion to our opposers*. I have not spoke of any thing savouring of severity or revenge. I had almost forgot my urging his majesty to call a general assembly, which he told me could not be resolved upon as to the time, till he should more fully advise about ordering his affairs in Scotland. And, upon the motion of his owning the assembly at St. Andrews in 1651, he readily yielded to it, as the fittest expedient to testify his approbation of our cause, and his pleasure that the disorders of our church be remedied in the approven way. You will easily see why he could not own those assemblies that were holden after the interruptions of his govern-

ment.”* Here, then, we have from Wodrow himself ample evidence of the integrity of Mr. Sharp. It were to be wished that he had always shown equal integrity in copying the letters of that much maligned prelate. The following letter, written a short time before leaving London, gives again such unequivocal evidence of Mr. Wodrow’s adherence to his instructions “to aggravate the crimes of his enemies,” as must throw much doubt upon the archbishop’s correspondence as *he gives it*: the words in brackets, show his usual omissions.

“London, 26th July, 1660.

“Reverend Sir,—[Yours of the 19th, I received; by the two preceding posts I had none from you. That my letters to you came not sooner to hand is my trouble; but I am sure to send them betimes to the post-house. I sent you last week some account of the heads of that letter, which his majesty did approve, and order to be written for his signing. I did acquaint my Lords Crawford and Cassilis with it, and I know not if by them our countrymen here had notice of it, but I fear many of them are not satisfied with his majesty’s declaring his gracious resolution to preserve the government of our church as settled by law. I wait for the sealing of my despatch with the signet, which the king hath not yet put into the hands of Lord Lauderdale, but will within a few days, and then I see nothing to hinder my return, but waiting upon my lady Balcarras’ coming to London, according to your

* Wodrow’s Introduction, vol. i. p. 52.

desire; after which, I hope I shall not be detained above a day or two. Upon her lord's account, that lady deserves this testimony of our respect towards her. I have shown your letter to some of her friends here, who take it kindly at your hands. Though I have cause to be very impatient to have my return thus delayed,] yet some of our friends advise, that I put off two or three days that I may take care, that by the instructions to the Committee of Estates, the king's assurance given by his letter [with me] may be made good. Those instructions will probably this next week be perfected, [so that I begin to apprehend I cannot now come from this before the beginning of the week following.] The king's condescension, that the acts and authority of the General Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee be owned, doth take in the acts of the commission preceding it. Upon my motion of it to his majesty, he was satisfied with the reasons I gave from his own concernments, and ours, [which I do (the more I think of it) the more judge to be much importanced by it. I am very hopeful, that] after the parliament the General Assembly will be indicted. When his majesty hath declared who shall be secretary of state, I shall acquaint him with the proclamation you sent me, which I have shown to some of our friends, who think it may do well; but not having opportunity to table it as I would, I cannot yet give you an account of it.] Upon Saturday, the 24th, I gave you an account [of which you do not mention the receipt,] of the large opportunity I had with his majesty of clearing you from mistakes and aspersions according to all the particulars of the information you sent me. [I may say it, that his majesty and others are convinced, that the exorbitancies chargeable upon the administration of the church of Scotland,] came from the overbearing sway of those men, [whose way hath been pernicious to our church and state; and shall they still presume to keep meetings, and persist to what is

good in their own eyes, as if there were no king in Israel? They had best bethink themselves, that Cromwell, Lambert, and the Wallingford-house men are out of fashion; the sun and shine they have looked big under is set.] We have heard here of an indicted meeting of theirs. [I believe they have cause to suspect their encouragement from court; and if they take no warning in time,] they will draw a check upon themselves, [which will not be pleasing. I cannot imagine, how they can expect you will join with them.

“I believe ere this come to your hand,] you have notice of his majesty’s answer to the paper presented by our lords; by which, after insinuation of his great regard to Scotland, he tells them of withdrawing the field-forces presently, and of the garrisons, as soon as with conveniency may be; of withdrawing the English forces from the castle of Edinburgh, how soon a Scottish garrison can be raised. The Committee of Estates is to sit down on the 23d of August, and not to meddle with persons or estates; they are to fill up their number with those who have not by remonstrance, or any public acting, disclaimed the king’s authority. [The parliament is to sit the 23d of October following. Our countrymen are desired to repair home at their conveniency, which many of them intend to do next week.] The proclamation for the Committee of Estates is preparing.

“[I can write little in reference to church matters here, but that I see] the proceedings towards settling Episcopacy in England and Ireland go on apace. [The Presbyterians and their favourers, neither do nor can take any effectual way to oppose them.] I find they will speedily nominate the bishops of England, as they have already nominated the most of Ireland; [all deaneries and prebendaries, and collegiate churches are filled.] The brethren from Ireland are at a great stand what to do; the General, Manchester, or any person of interest, refuse to introduce them to the king if

they present their address ; they have written to the brethren who sent them,* [how they find matters stated.] [By what I can learn,] I find the most they can learn, the most they can expect, will be a forbearance for a time in the exercise of their ministry ; but it will not be permitted them to meet in Presbyteries, or a Synod. I give them all the assistance I can, though they get nothing of it from the city ministers. I recommend you to the Lord's grace, who am,

“ Yours,

(Signed) “ James Sharp.”

On the 2d of August, Charles issued a proclamation from Whitehall, by which, till the meeting of parliament, he placed the government of Scotland in a Committee of Estates. They were commanded to meet at Edinburgh, on the 23d of the same month ; and were the same individuals that had acted in that capacity in 1651. Many of these commissioners had at that time forced on Charles the shameful mortifications which he then experienced. They had all taken the Covenant, and compelled Charles to make the unnatural Declaration from Dunfermline. They now thought they could not wipe away the memory of these offences so effectually, as by extraordinary zeal against those with whom they had formerly acted. Before leaving London finally, Mr. Sharp wrote

* Wodrow inserts, “ for advice.”

to Mr. Douglass the following letter, the brackets indicating Mr. Wodrow's omissions:—

“ London, 11 August, 1660.

“ Reverend Sir,—Yours of the 2d I received. I have shown the former part of it to Lady Balcarras, Lord Lauderdale, and Sir Robert Murray, who take it very kindly; and I confess, I see a conveniency for testifying our respect to that noble and virtuous lady, which I have, since her coming to this place, endeavoured to evidence amongst my acquaintance here, of which she is sensible. I have not of late written frequently to you, because my negotiation here is at a close, and I have been in daily expectation of a dimission from his majesty. I did not imagine some six weeks ago, my stay would have been so long continued, and yet I cannot say it hath been altogether in vain: for the apprehensions of our countrymen here are much altered [within this month, from what they were, concerning our church's affairs. After] his majesty was pleased to yield to what I humbly offered, by his condescensions in that letter, I thought it was not amiss to acquaint some here with it; [though I did not intend a divulging of it, because the signification of his majesty's pleasure might silence the clamours of some, and bring them to be more] moderate in their expressions about our church;* [which, I find, hath been the consequent of it, and thereupon am the less troubled that the contents of the king's letter are noticed by so many. The letter was this day by Lauderdale's hand written in *mundo*, and subscribed by his lordship as secretary, and offered to be superscribed this night by the king, which he hath done and ordered it to be

* “ And their expressions about the government of our church are much moderated.” Wodrow, p. 53.

signed upon Monday. The letter contains the heads I formerly told you, and the strain of it I doubt not, will give abundant satisfaction to satisfiable men, as you write; for others, I believe, they must resolve upon more pliability than heretofore. I have nothing now to hinder my return, which I desire may be as soon as can be wished for, I know there be reasons for my hastening. I am to take leave of the king upon Monday or Tuesday, and shall, as I did the last Monday, acquaint his majesty with what you had written by the former post, so to take occasion to hint at what you have writ by this, which I am confident will be acceptable; he expressed satisfaction with what you had written then. I have engaged with company to enter on our journey upon Thursday next, by the Lord's help. We hear the way is dangerous, and the weather is so excessively hot, that I dare not venture to post, and therefore must wait for company, and make as speedy a journey as we can.] The letter of the ministers of London, in return to yours, is now, after much belabouring, signed by them, and to be delivered to me to-morrow. The Episcopal party* are still increasing in number and confidence; and some think they fly so high, as they will undo their own interest. [The king hath, by a letter to the House of Commons, expressed his resolution, to have a better provision of maintenance for vicarages in England, but expressly did insinuate the owning of the church-government of England by bishops and archbishops; the letter is now printed. The bill for securing of ordained ministers in their livings is now ready to be engrossed in the House of Commons. The bill for indemnity hath passed the House of Lords, and this day was sent down to the House of Commons; but it is thought the two houses will not agree

* Wodrow inserts the word "here."

about it, which will prolong the completing of it for some time longer. I did, according to your desire, wait upon the Lady of Argyle. Many of our countrymen take journey this next week. I shall by the Tuesday's post write once more. I recommend you to the Lord's grace, who am,

“ Sir, yours,

(Signed) “ James Sharp.”]

Mr. Sharp left London soon after despatching the above letter. Messrs. Calamy, Ashe and Manton, eminent English Presbyterians, wrote by him to the ministers at Edinburgh, who had assumed the representation of the Resolutioners. It is the letter to which he refers as being written and signed “ after much belabouring,” and bears decisive evidence of what Mr. Sharp had all along assured them, that the church would be re-established without respect to either Presbytery or the Covenant.

“ Reverend and Beloved Brethren,—We had sooner returned our thanks to you, for your brotherly salutation and remembrance of us, but that we expected the conveniency of Mr. Sharp's return, hoping by that time things would grow to such a consistency, that we might be able to give you a satisfactory account of the state of religion among us. We do with you heartily rejoice in the return of our sovereign to the exercise of government over these his kingdoms; and as we cannot but own much of God in the way of bringing it about, so we look upon the thing itself as the fruit of prayers and a mercy not to be forgotten. Hitherto our God hath

helped us, in breaking the formidable power of sectaries, causing them to fall by the violence of their own attempts, and in restoring to us our ancient government after so many shakings, (the only proper basis to support the happiness and just liberties of these nations,) and freeing us from the many snares and dangers to which we were exposed by the former confusions and usurpations. Therefore, we will yet wait upon the Lord, who hath in part heard us, until all those things, concerning which we have humbly sought to him, be accomplished and brought about. We heartily thank you for your kind and brotherly encouragements, and shall in our places endeavour the advancing of the covenanted reformation according to the bonds yet remaining upon our consciences, and our renewed professions before God and man; and though we cannot but foresee potent oppositions and sad discouragements in the work, yet we hope our God will carry us through all difficulties and hazards, and at length cause the foundations now laid, to increase into a powerful building, that the top-stone may be brought forth with shoutings, and his people cry, Grace, grace, unto it.

“We bless God in your behalf, that your warfare is in a great measure accomplished, and the church of Christ and the interests thereof so far owned in Scotland, as to be secured not only by the uniform submission of the people, but also by laws, and those confirmed by the royal assent, a complication of blessings which yet the kingdom of England hath not obtained, and (though we promise ourselves much from the wisdom, piety, and clemency of his royal majesty) through our manifold distractions and prejudices, not like suddenly to obtain. Therefore, we earnestly beg the continuance of your prayers for us, in this day of our conflict, fears, and temptations; as also your advice and counsel, that on the one side, we may neither, by any forwardness and rigid

counsels of our own, hazard the peace and safety of a late sadly distempered and not yet healed nation ; and on the other side, by undue compliances, destroy the hopes of a begun reformation. We have to do with men of different humours and principles ; *the general stream and current is for the old prelacy* in all its pomp and height ; and therefore *it cannot be hoped for, that the Presbyterial government should be owned as the public establishment of this nation, while the tide runneth so strongly that way ;* and the bare toleration of it, (" the old prelacy,") will certainly produce a mischief, whilst Papists and sectaries of all sorts will wind in themselves under the covert of such a favour. Therefore no course seemeth likely to us to secure religion and the interests of Jesus Christ our Lord, but by making Presbytery a part of the public establishment, which will not be effected but by moderating and reducing Episcopacy to the form of synodical government, and a mutual condescendance of both parties in some lesser things which fully come within the latitude of allowable differences in the church. This is all we can for the present hope for, and if we could obtain it, should account it a mercy and the best expedient to ease his majesty in his great difficulties about the matter of religion : and we hope none that fear God and seek the peace of Sion, considering the perplexed position of our affairs, will interpret this to be any tergiversation from our principles or apostacy from the Covenant. But if we cannot obtain this, we must be content with prayers and tears to commend our cause to God, and by meek and humble sufferings to wait upon him until he be pleased to prepare the hearts of the people for his beautiful work, and to bring his ways (at which they are now so much scandalized) into request with them.

" Thus we have with all plainness and simplicity of heart, laid forth our straits before you : we again beg your advice

and prayers, and heartily recommend you to the Lord's grace, in whom we are your loving brethren and fellow labourers in the work of the gospel.

(Signed) "Edm. Calamy.
Simeon Ashe.

"London, 10th August, 1660." Tho. Manton."

"Directed to our Reverend and highly esteemed Brethren, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Douglass, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. George Hutchinson, Edinburgh."

Had there been any just cause, for accusing Mr. Sharp, or even any suspicion of his integrity, no better opportunity presented itself than the present, for either roundly charging him with treachery or of putting their friends in Scotland on their guard. Not a word is said in allusion to any past or meditated treachery; so far from it that Mr. Sharp's integrity is clearly implied. Gillespie, undoubtedly, did act a treacherous part towards the Presbyterians, without being able to plead the palliation of temptation; *for he OFFERED, of his own accord, to go all lengths,* towards the restoration of the ancient church, and "gave all assurance that he would do the king service to his *utmost*, and *nothing could be enjoined to him for promoting thereof, which he would not most faithfully and vigorously obey and perfect,*" to effect that purpose. Yet not a word of Gillespie's base treachery has ever

been heard, because his offer being rejected, he slunk back amongst his old associates, and became loud in his condemnation of that very measure which he himself had offered to accomplish. On the contrary, Mr. Sharp, who made no such offer, but whose talents and abilities pointed him out to a grateful sovereign as the fittest person for carrying out his patriotic designs, and who himself only followed out the principles which he had been taught in early youth at King's College, Aberdeen, was pursued with the most fiendish hatred and malice, and the most enormous lies which hell itself could have invented. But even if he had made the change from Presbytery to Episcopacy, of which he is accused, is he the only man who is to be called traitor and apostate, for following the dictates of a better-informed conscience? How many men, since the first introduction of Presbytery to the present day, have renounced its errors, and, being convinced, have embraced a more rational and Scriptural system, both of doctrine and discipline, and who have neither deserved, nor have they been accused of either treachery or apostacy. Do such men as continue the murderous hue and cry against the memory of this pious and exemplary prelate, admit, that Alexander Henderson was a traitor both to his earthly and heavenly sovereign, and

an apostate and persecutor of the church of which he was an ordained minister? Oh, no, quite the contrary: yet he was the primary instrument of extirpating and persecuting that church which he betrayed, and against whose governors, whom he had sworn to obey, he pronounced an act of excommunication.

CHAPTER III.

**Trials and executions of the Marquis of Argyle—Mr. Guthrie,
and Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston.**

THAT the trials and execution of these individuals might not interfere with the narrative, I have thrown their affairs into a distinct chapter. In his declaration from Breda, Charles promised an indemnity to the realm of England, with certain exceptions; but no such indemnity had been promised to Scotland. In favour of such a grant, Lauderdale recounted the services of the Scottish nation, and the loyalty of the great body of the people. He reminded him of the Duke of Hamilton's unsuccessful attempt to relieve his father; Montrose's brilliant achievements, the services of the Scots terminating in the unfortunate battle of Worcester; and their more recent and effectual assistance to General Monck, previous to his own Restoration; besides that he himself had actually passed an act of indemnity at Stirling, under the name of an "Approbation:" a distinction he argued should therefore be made between those who voluntarily entered into Cromwell's service, and those who were compelled to do so. Of the

former class it would be necessary to make some examples, and none appeared to be more proper objects than Argyle, Guthrie and Johnston. Argyle had a natural presentiment that he might be called to account for his former transactions, and he concealed himself for some time after the king's return. In the commencement of the rebellion, he cast his lot among the Covenanters; and, in order to bring him back to a sense of his duty, Charles I. created his father a marquis, and called himself up to London. His father wrote to Charles, warning him of his character, and advising him to detain him a prisoner; "for," said he, "be assured that Lorn will wind you a pirl." The king thanked the old marquis for his advice, but added, "he behoved to be a king of his word, and therefore having called him up by his warrant, he would not detain him."* His cruelties during the rebellion, in which he himself was a chief actor, were notorious; "whilst his signal hypocrisy ceased even to deceive the lower ranks of the Puritans, by whom (as by almost all the world,) he was cordially hated." He was a decided coward, as his conduct at Inverlochie proved him. "In private life, he was as false and selfish as in public, depriving his brother of

* See the author's History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 450.

his estate, and cheating his sisters out of their portions. To complete the picture, tradition describes Argyle as a man of mean stature, red-haired, and with squinting eyes ; so that to this day he is denominated the *gleid* (squinting) marquis. It is singular that Kirkton does not mention the fatal letters sent down to Scotland by Monck, during Argyle's trial, though the production of such a proof of disloyalty seems scarcely necessary in his case, and probably has had greater stress laid upon it by some authors than it really deserves."*

On the Restoration, Argyle concealed himself in the Highlands, and thence wrote by his son to the king, asking permission to wait on him ; but he received no satisfactory answer, neither did the king bind himself to any particular line of conduct towards him. He ventured, however, to appear at court, and arrived so secretly, that no one knew any thing of his motions till he reached Whitehall, on the 8th of February, 1660. He sent his son to beg to be admitted to an audience of his majesty, which was not only denied him, but he himself was immediately arrested, and sent to the Tower, whence he was conveyed by a ship of war to Scotland, and committed to Edinburgh Castle, on the 20th of December. On

* Notes to Kirkton's History, by Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esq.

the 13th of February, 1661, he was placed at the bar of the parliament-house, and accused by Sir John Fletcher the lord advocate, of high-treason. The marquis requested leave to speak before the indictment should be read; but this was unanimously refused. The indictment contained fourteen counts, as follows:—

“ 1. That he rose in arms against the king; and said to Mr. John Stuart, that it was the opinion of many divines, that kings might be deposed. 2. That he marched with an armed force, and burnt the house of Airlie. 3. That in 1640, he besieged and forced his majesty's Castle of Dumbarton to surrender to him. 4. That he called or ordered to be called, the Convention of Estates in 1643, and entered into the Solemn League and Covenant, with England, levied subscriptions from the subjects, and fought against his majesty's forces. 5. That in 1645 he burnt the house of Menstrie. 6. That in 1646 he, or those under his command, besieged and took the house of Towart and Ecoge, and killed a great many gentlemen. 7. That he marched to Kyntire, and killed 300 Macdonalds and M'Couls in cold blood, and transported 200 men to the uninhabited Isle of Jura, where they perished by famine. 8. That he went to London, and agreed to deliver up the late king to the English army at Newcastle, upon the payment of £ 200,000, pretended to be due for the arrears of the army treasonably raised, 1643. 9. That he protested against the 'Engagement' of 1648, for relieving his majesty, raised an army to oppose the 'Engagers,' met with Oliver Cromwell, consented to a letter wrote to him on the 6th of October, and to the instructions given to Sir John Chiesley, to the parliament of England, and in May following, signed a warrant for a proclamation against the Lords Ogilvie and

Rae, the Marquis of Huntly, John, now Earl of Middleton, declaring them, their wives and families, to be out of the protection of the kingdom. 10. That he clogged his majesty's invitation to the kingdom of Scotland, 1649, with many unjust limitations, consenting to the murder of the Marquis of Montrose; corresponded with Cromwell, contrived and consented to the Act of the West Kirk, 1650, and the Declaration following upon it. 11. That in 1653 and 1654 he abetted, or joined with, or furnished arms to the usurper's forces against Glencairn and Middleton, and gave remissions to such as had been in the king's service. 12. That he received a precept from the usurper of £12,000 sterling, consented to the proclamation of Richard Cromwell, accepted a commission from the shire of Aberdeen, and sat and voted in his pretended parliament. 13. That he rebuked the ministers in Argyle, for praying for the king. 14. That he positively advised Cromwell and Ireton, in a conference, 1648, that they could not be safe, till the king's life was taken away; at least, he knew and concealed that horrid design."

Although some of these charges are probably exaggerated, yet there is not the least doubt of his guilt, and which, indeed, is greatly aggravated by the terms of his defence. In exculpation, he pleaded the commands of the rebel parliament and Committee of Estates, and who were themselves in a state of open rebellion. Under the rebel government he acted *willingly*, and, in fact, was one of their chief members and supporters, acting as a sort of lieutenant under Cromwell, for Scotland. Even Kirkton admits that he was "Dictator of Scotland." He ad-

mitted the inhuman massacre of the Macdonalds; but in extenuation alleged that they had committed great barbarities upon his own people, who had taken a cruel revenge. He made his defence in an eloquent and skilful speech, which greatly exalted him in public opinion. But the letters which he addressed to Monck showed that he was hearty in the rebellion against the king, and this weighed strongly with parliament in voting him guilty. All his friends and relations, his kith, kin, and allies, withdrew and declined voting. The Marquis of Montrose, whose father had been murdered by the Committee of Estates, of which Argyle was a member, also withdrew, and with much good feeling declined to vote. On the 25th of May, he received his sentence on his knees at the bar of the house:—"that he was found guilty of high-treason, and adjudged to be executed to the death as a traitor; his head to be severed from his body at the cross of Edinburgh, upon Monday, the 27th instant, (May,) and affixed on the same place where the Marquis of Montrose's head was formerly, and his arms torn before the parliament and at the cross"

He was then conveyed to the common prison, where he spent the short residue of his life in composure and devotion. On Monday morning, he was occupied chiefly with the settlement of his affairs; and, at his own desire, his lady took her

final leave of him. It seems, " he was so overpowered with a sensible effusion of the joy of the Holy Ghost, that he broke out in a rapture, and said, ' I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do : I am now ordering my affairs, and *God is sealing* my charter to a better inheritance, and is *just now saying to me, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.*' " To Mr. Hutchinson, a preacher, who said on his entrance, " What cheer, my lord ? " he exclaimed, " Good cheer, sir ; the Lord hath again confirmed, and *said unto me from Heaven, thy sins be forgiven thee.* " These are the sort of rapturous expressions of which the religious experience of the Covenanters were chiefly composed : expressions which savoured much more of presumption than of either true piety or Christian humility. The day preceding his execution, he wrote to the king, *justifying* his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant ; protested his innocence as to the death of the late king ; submitted patiently to his sentence ; wished the king a long and happy reign ; cast his children and family upon his mercy, and prayed that they might not be made to suffer for their father's faults. He was attended by several noblemen and gentlemen to the scaffold, which he mounted with the greatest serenity and gravity. After Mr. Hutchinson had prayed, the marquis spoke

for half an hour, and among other things said, "I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he was at home, and had no correspondence with the adversary's army, nor any of them when his majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any accession to his late majesty's horrible and execrable murder. I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others. It is well known it is only for compliance, which was the epidemical fault of the nation. I wish the Lord to pardon them. I say no more: we are tied by Covenants to religion and reformation; and it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven, to absolve from the oath of God:" and he exhorted all the people to adhere to the Covenant. When he had finished speaking, Mr. Hutchinson again prayed, after which his lordship himself prayed. He next took leave of his friends, and gave the executioner a handkerchief, containing some money; and then laid his neck on the maiden,* when his head was instantly severed from his body, and fixed on the west end of the Tolbooth, or common gaol of the city. His body was delivered to

* The *maiden* was an instrument similar to the guillotine, and was invented by the Earl of Morton, regent during part of Queen Mary's captivity; and it is somewhat singular, that he himself was the first to suffer by it.

his friends, and was interred in the vault of his ancestors. The Covenanters considered him as their proto-martyr, and he ranks high to this day in the number of their saints. Nevertheless, he suffered most justly as a persecutor of the church, and a traitor to his sovereign.

James Guthrie was next called upon to bear testimony for the Covenant; but that the cause of his arraignment may be better understood, it will be necessary to look a little backward. As soon as the murder of Charles I. was known in Scotland, the parliament ordered Charles II. to be proclaimed; but promising obedience *only* according to the Solemn League and Covenant. They resolved also, that before he was admitted to the exercise of the government, he should *make satisfaction to the kirk* on the score of religion, and sign the Covenant. Parliament chose a certain number of commissioners, and the General Assembly so many ministers to treat with the king at Breda on the above basis. The kirk chiefly relied on Livingston; but he complains, during the whole treaty with the king, that he used the Liturgy, and employed Church of England chaplains. The failure of Montrose's expedition compelled the king, however reluctantly, to submit to the illiberal and unjust terms proposed by these religio-political commissioners.


He was compelled to promise to remove all *malignants** from his councils—to take the Covenant—to prosecute its ends and designs—to establish the Presbyterian government—to submit the appointment of his ministers to parliament, and conform himself entirely to its decisions—and, finally, to be directed in all things by the General Assembly. Charles was obliged to swallow these hard and unreasonable terms, but not without many scruples, and as much delay as possible. Livingston was horror-struck at hearing that Charles received the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper kneeling, while at Breda. With the usual bigotry of the sect, Livingston told him, that it would provoke God to blast all his designs, and was besides contrary to their beloved Covenant. Charles, however, much to his honour, was fixed in his resolution, and said his father always communicated at Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday, and he was resolved to follow so good an example; besides, he did it then to procure a blessing from God on

* *Malignants* was a term of infamy which was indiscriminately applied by the rebels and Covenanters, or in other words, the religious hypocrites of those days, to all who feared God and worked righteousness, and who honoured the king. In the slang of the time, therefore, a *Malignant* meant a good and true man, one who served God and honoured the king.

his intended voyage. Happy had it been for himself and the people whom God had committed to his charge, had he always continued in this frame of mind. But we have to thank the Solemn League and Covenant and its adherents, for murdering his father and driving himself, at the inexperienced age of eighteen, into Popish countries, where he learnt all the vices and debauchery of that most profligate religion, and finally apostatized into it. This evil and the ultimate ruin and extinction of that illustrious line of princes, is entirely owing to the sacrilegious covenant which binds its deluded votaries to persecute and extirpate the church, and to rebel against the sovereign.

Charles with his suite, which consisted of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and a few personal friends, and the commissioners, embarked at Amsterdam; but when Livingston saw so many of those whom he uncharitably denominated *malignants*, he refused to sail in the same ship with them. In the true pharisaical style and spirit of the Covenanted rebels, he alleged of these loyal gentlemen, "that both in regard of the *profane malignant company*, and how matters stood in the treaty, they were taking the *plague of God* with them to Scotland. He therefore went to Rotterdam for embarkation. This is a genuine specimen of the pharisaical tem-

per and spiritual pride engendered by that instrument of popish craft and subtlety—the Solemn League and Covenant. The king arrived in the River Spey, on the 23d of June, 1660 ; where he was compelled to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and before he was permitted to land ; some days afterwards at Leith, Argyle sent an order to discharge all those loyal gentlemen whom the rebels usually styled “Malignants.” In their stead, he placed creatures of his own, stiff, starched, and puritanical, who acted the part of spies more than of official servants. “The Marquis of Argyle,” says Kirkton, “being all that time almost *dictator* of Scotland, and to make all sure *for himself*, being in great danger from the envy of his enemies, thought good to strike up a match betwixt the king and his daughter Lady Anne.” Before they would permit the king to land, the king was compelled to give his consent to sign the Covenant. Livingston preached, and at the conclusion of his sermon, read the Solemn League and Covenant, to which they compelled Charles, “although very refractory,” to affix his name. “The king,” says Burnet, “wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could. He heard many prayers and sermons, some of great length, and which were always bitter libels and invectives against his father’s actions, his mother’s idolatries, and



his own *malignity*." On one fast-day, there were six sermons preached without intermission; and Burnet, who was present, says, "he was not a little weary of such a tedious service." On Sundays, the king was not allowed so much as to walk abroad; and if at any time there was any gaiety at court, he was severely rebuked for it. Burnet says, this was managed with so much rigour and so little discretion, that it contributed to inspire him with an aversion to all religion. All his father's faithful friends were sternly prohibited from approaching him. The common people showed great loyalty and affection for his person, and came in crowds to see him; but these Argyle drove away, and would not suffer them to get near him.

Religious hypocrisy and intolerance were the besetting sins of the times; and Kirkton informs us, with exultation, that at this period "Scotland hath, by emulous foreigners been called *Philadelphia*: and now she seemed to be in her flower." To this, Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp, the editor, adds the following note:—

"This flower of Scotland in the perfection of her church, was plentifully bedewed with the blood of *malignancy*. E. G. In one day, the Covenanters drowned eighty women and children, found guilty of following Montrose's camp, by precipitating them over the bridge at Linlithgow, and six more shared the same fate at Elgin. From the account of the battle of Philipshaugh, published under authority by the victors

themselves, we learn that they shot an hundred Irish prisoners at a post; on which occasion a covenanted minister observed, 'the wark gaes bonnily on.' General Hurry being sentenced to perpetual banishment by the parliament, his life was peremptorily demanded and obtained *by the commission of the kirk*. The Marquis of Huntly, a venerable nobleman, of eighty, had been previously beheaded, chiefly owing to a like Christian application. After the execution of Sir Robert Spottiswood indeed, *the clergy*, (*i. e.* the covenanting ministers,) solicited the parliament that more royalists might be slaughtered, but could not obtain their desire. The massacres of Dunaverti and Jurva, where upwards of three hundred men, 'after they were come'd out of the castle, were put to the sword, everie mother's sonne, with a hundredth country-fellowes whom we had smoaked out of a cave as they doe foxes.' Mr. John Nave, or Neaves, (who was appointed by the commission of the kirk, to wait on him, General Leslie, as his chaplain), *never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed*; yea, and *threatened* him with the *curses* that befel Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them, his theology taught him to compare the Dunaverti men: and I verilie believe this prevailed most with General Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the kirk of Scotland. This massacre was promoted, if not caused by Leslie's chaplain, who exclaimed, in a sermon preached before the troops: 'What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen?' applying the text of scripture to the victims still unbutchered."*

We should willingly bury these atrocities in oblivion, were we not continually upbraided with the severities to which the government of Lauder-

* Kirkton's Hist. 4to., pp. 44, 45, 49.

dale were compelled to resort, in order to put down the rebellious spirit of the Covenanters. It is therefore necessary to show how the *godly* ministers taught such doctrines, as produced in their hearers the fruits of the *flesh*, and not of the Spirit ; and by their fruits we must judge them. Their inquisitorial and tyrannical interference with the private affairs of their flocks and of each other, is luminously detailed in the following quotation from one of their own most approved authors :—

“ Every minister was to be tried five times a year, both for his personal and ministerial labours ; every congregation was to be visited by the Presbytery, that they might see how the vine flourished, and how the pomegranate budded. And there was no case nor question in the meanest family in Scotland, but it might become the object of the deliberation of the General Assembly ; for the congregational session-book was tried by the Presbytery, the Presbytery’s book by the Synod, and the Synod’s book by the General Assembly. Likewise, as the bands of the Scottish church were strong, so her beauty was bright : no error was so much as named ; the people were not only sound in the faith, but innocently ignorant of unsound doctrine ; no scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations. The General Assembly seemed to be the priest with Urim and Thummim, and there was not one hundred persons in all Scotland to oppose their conclusions ; all submitted, all learned, all prayed ; most part were really godly, *or at least counterfeited* themselves Jews. Thus was Scotland a heap of wheat set about with lilies, uniform, or a palace of silver beautifully proportioned ; and this seems to me to have been

Scotland's *high noon*. The only complaint of profane people was, that the government was so strict they had not liberty enough to sin. I confess I thought at that time the common sort of ministers *strained too much* at the sin, which in these days was called **MALIGNANCY**," (that is Episcopacy and loyalty) "(and I should not paint the moon faithfully if I marked not her spots,) otherways I think, if church officers could polish the saints upon earth as bright as they are in heaven, it were their excellency and the church's happiness. But this season lasted not long."*

How is it possible that such inquisitorial tyranny could be long endured. It is not surprising that it made men, as Kirkton indeed acknowledges, hypocrites, or that Charles should be so thoroughly disgusted with such men, as to declare that the religion of which they were the ministers "was not a religion fit for a gentleman." Bishop Guthrie asserts, that the moderate or Resolutioner clergy were inclined to the royal cause, but were intimidated by the furious and republican Covenanters. The approach of Cromwell, at the head of a well-disciplined army, obliged the Scots to prepare for his reception. The commission of the General Assembly accordingly made the following act, with which Mr. Sharp alleges he was so much "bated" at court after the Restoration, and it shows the state of slavery and thralldom in which the Covenanters held Charles whilst he was in their power.

* Kirkton's Hist. 4to., pp. 49. 50.

“ West Kirk, 13 August, 1650. The commission of the General Assembly considering that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the king's majesty refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered unto him by the Committee of Estates and commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolutions for the future, in reference to the cause of God and the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that this kirk and kingdom do not own or espouse any *malignant* party or quarrel or interest; but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past; and therefore, as they do disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and of his house; so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his father's opposition to the work of God and to the Covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is misstated, as if we owned the late king's proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present majesty's interest, before and without acknowledgment of the sins of his house and former ways, and satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms.

“ Alexander Kerr.”

It must not be imagined that this treasonable Act was the performance of religious bigots alone. It was clenched by the following act of council, of which the traitor Argyle was the leading man—the “Dictator,” which then exercised the whole

powers of government. And it may be remarked, that the "*cause of God*" means treason, rebellion, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

"August 13, 1650. The Committee of Estates having seen and considered a declaration of the commission of the General Assembly, anent, the stating of the quarrel whereon the army is to fight, do approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

"Tho. Henderson."

It would appear that the king had either refused, or at all events, shown great reluctance to sign the Dunfermline declaration, and which we here subjoin; indeed, Kirkton says, "he was very refractory," which is by no means surprising. It was in fact compelling him to play the part of Ham, and uncover his father's skirt; and it is a complete exposure of the irreligious tendency of the Covenanting principles. He was betrayed and forced into signing this infamous document by the desperate position of his affairs. He was then a youth of nineteen, a state-prisoner, and not a freeman, deprived of his faithful and loyal friends and counsellors, and surrounded by traitors and rebels. The mortal enemy of his house and kingdom was within a day's march of his capital, at the head of a victorious army, and with the declared intention of serving him as he had done the late king, his father. The Presbyterians too, who had him in their power, absolutely renounced their allegiance to him, unless he signed the de-

claration ; in which they throw the whole guilt of the bloodshed and of their own rebellion, upon the late king ; and contrary to his own conviction, they compelled him to swear that he would root up and extirpate that church in which he had received the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, before leaving Breda. He refused, naturally enough, to sign this unnatural and untrue document ; but finding himself deserted and betrayed, and in the hands of his enemies, and seeing no means of escape, but to be delivered up to Cromwell ; he at last, though reluctantly, consented. He did not sign it, however, without protesting " that he did not think his father guilty of blood, and that notwithstanding he had so declared, he had his own meaning thereof." Although this declaration appears to be a blot in Charles's character, yet the infamy and the guilt attaches entirely to the Covenanters. Gillespie, who afterwards abjectly *offered to assist in bringing in Episcopacy*, put the pen in his hand ; at the same time hypocritically telling him " that if he was not satisfied in his soul and conscience beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of the subscription, he was so far from over-driving him to run upon that for which he had no light that he obtested him ; yea charged him in his master's name not to subscribe that declaration, no not for the three kingdoms." This obtestation in the face of the King's solemn

protest of signing under compulsion, was similar to the hypocritical finesse of the Roman inquisitors, when they consign a victim to the flames. They “obtest, yea charge,” the civil magistrate to show mercy, and spare the heretic, while all the time they have doomed him to be burnt alive. From what Mr. Douglas says, in one of his letters to Mr. Sharp, while at London, Charles must have been “very refractory,” and had long resisted the attempts of the Presbyterian ministers to make him dishonour his father’s memory. In his letter, dated the 3rd July, 1660, Mr. Douglas says—

“As to what you write of the declaration at Dunfermline, I was one who went to his majesty with it first, before any commissioners were sent; and after hearing his scruples, he knows, if he remembers, that I did no more press him with it; and when I returned I endeavoured to satisfy the commissioners; and when they were naming other commissioners to send again to his majesty, I said I would not go; and they thought me too favourable a messenger for such an errand, and sent good Mr. Hamilton, with *some* whom they thought would press it more: and after his majesty had signed it, and *written a very honest letter* to the commission, to alter some expressions in the declaration, the Protestors carried it by multitudes, that not one word of it should be altered.

“As for the act of the West Kirk, I shall declare to you the truth of that business, for none can do it better than Mr. Dickson, Andrew Kerr, and I. We met first at Leith, Mr. Dickson, Hamilton, Kircaldy, and I only, *all the rest were Protestors*. When such an act was offered we debated on it about the space of three hours, and finding them (the Protestors) obstinate, I being moderator, dissolved the meeting

After that the officers being dealt with by them (the Protestors) a great many of them professed that they would not fight at all except they got something of that nature, and upon that there was a meeting at the West Kirk, drawn on for accommodation when the quorum was twenty-three ministers, eighteen of whom were for satisfying the officers with such an act; and nine ruling elders, six of whom were violent for it. Messrs. Dickson, Hamilton, Kircaldy, and I were still against it, till after conference two of us with some of them, after solemn protestation, that there should be no use made thereof, but to show it to the officers for satisfaction, it was agreed on by that plurality, that it should be enacted which was carried to the Committee of Estates by them, and approven there; and it was by me enclosed in a letter to David Leslie, in which I declared it was merely for satisfaction of some officers, that now they might fight against the common enemy.

“ My memory serves me not to declare what further was in it; yet notwithstanding of all professions to the contrary, it was published that night in print, without either my hand at it as moderator, or Mr. Kerr’s, as clerk; which afterwards was made evident at Perth, and the chancellor being posed who gave warrant to print it, he professed publicly he gave none. The king subscribing the declaration at Dunfermline made the act null: but that did not satisfy us, after we saw their (the Protestors) way which they took, notwithstanding of his majesty’s subscription, continuing to oppose all the Resolutions which were taken for his majesty’s preservation and the kingdom’s defence; and in the Assembly at St. Andrew’s and Dundee, where his majesty’s commissioner was present, the Assembly took to their consideration that act of the West Kirk, and put an explication upon it.”*

* Woodrow, vol. i., pp. 47, 48. Burn’s edition.

This infamous transaction appears therefore to have been entirely the work of the Presbyterians, known then by the name of Protestors, and afterwards as Covenanters ; and with which the Episcopalian or Resolutioner clergy had nothing to do. It is entirely the work of the treacherous Protestors, spurred on by crafty Jesuits in disguise, and who are at the foundation of all the religious troubles and schisms in Great Britain. The following is a copy of the Dunfermline declaration, a document which reflects eternal disgrace and infamy on the Covenanters.

“ His majesty, taking in consideration that merciful dispensation of divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the snare of evil counsel ; and having attained so full persuasion and confidence of the loyalty of his people in Scotland, with whom he hath too long stood at a distance, and of the righteousness of their cause, as to join in one Covenant with them, and to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God ; and in all matters civil to follow the advice of his parliament, and such as shall be intrusted by them ; and in all matters ecclesiastic, the advice of the General Assembly and their commissioners ; and being sensible of his duty to God, and desirous to approve himself to the consciences of all his good subjects, and to stop the mouths of his and their enemies and traducers, doth, in reference to his former deportments, and as to his resolutions for the future, declare as follows :—

“ Though his majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his

father's hearkening to and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people has been shed in these kingdoms; and for the idolatry of his mother; the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was matter of great stumbling to all the Protestant churches; so could it not but be an high provocation against him 'who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children;' albeit, his majesty might extenuate his former carriages and actions, in following of the advice, and walking in the ways of those who are opposite to the Covenant and to the work of God, and might excuse his delaying to give satisfaction to the just and necessary desires of the kirk and kingdom of Scotland, from his education, and age, and evil counsel, and company; and from the strange and insolent proceedings of sectaries against his royal father; and in reference to religion and the ancient government of the kingdom of England, to which he hath the undoubted right of succession: yet knowing that he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknowledge all his own sins, and all the sins of his father's house, craving pardon and hoping for mercy and reconciliation through the blood of Jesus Christ. And as he doth value the constant addresses that were made by his people to the throne of grace, on his behalf, when he stood in opposition to the work of God, as a singular testimony of long-suffering, patience and mercy, upon the Lord's part, and loyalty upon theirs; so doth he hope, and shall take it as one of the greatest tokens of their love and affection to him, and to his government, that they will continue in prayer and supplication to God for him; that the Lord who spared and preserved him to this day, notwithstanding of all his own guiltiness, may be at peace with him, and give him to fear the Lord his God, and to serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind, all the days of his life.

“ And his majesty having, upon full perswasion of the justice and equity of all the heads and articles thereof, now sworn and subscribed the national Covenant of the kingdom of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, doth declare, that he hath not sworn or subscribed those Covenants, and entered into the oath of God with his people, upon any sinister intention or crooked design for attaining his own ends, but so far as human weakness will permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart, and that he is firmly resolved in the Lord's strength to adhere thereto, and to prosecute to the utmost of his power all the ends thereof, in his station and calling, really, constantly and sincerely, all the days of his life ; in order to which, he doth, in the first place, profess and declare, that he will have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant, and that he will have no friends but the friends of the Covenant. And therefore, as he does now detest and abhor all popery, superstition and idolatry, together with prelacy and all errors, heresy, schism and profaneness, and resolves *not to tolerate*, much less to allow any of these, in *any part* of his dominions, but to oppose himself thereto, and to *endeavour the extermination* thereof to the utmost of his power, so doth he as a Christian exhort, and as a king require, that all such of his subjects who have stood in opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and work of reformation, upon a pretence of kingly interest, or any other pretext whatever, to lay down their enmity against the cause and *people of God*, and to cease to prefer the interests of man to the interests of God ; which hath been one of those things which hath occasioned many troubles and calamities in these kingdoms, and being insisted into, will be so far from establishing the king's throne, that it will prove an idol of jealousy, to provoke unto wrath Him who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords. The king shall always esteem them best servants

and most loyal subjects, who serve him, and seek his greatness in a line of subordination unto God, giving unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and resolveth not to love or countenance any who have so little conscience and piety as to follow his interest with a prejudice to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ; which he looks not upon as a duty, but as flattering and driving of self-designs, under a pretence of maintaining the royal authority and greatness. Secondly, his majesty being convinced in conscience of the exceeding great sinfulness and unlawfulness of that treaty, and peace made with the bloody Irish rebels, who treacherously shed the blood of so many of his faithful and loyal subjects in Ireland, and of allowing unto them the liberty of the popish religion; for the which, he doth from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord, and likewise considering how many breaches have been upon their part, doth desire the same to be void, and that his majesty is absolved therefrom, being truly sorry that he should have sought unto such unlawful help for restoring of him to the throne, and resolving for the time to come, rather to choose affliction than sin. Thirdly, as his majesty did, in his late treaty with his people in this kingdom, agree to recal and annul all commissions against any of his subjects, who did adhere to the Covenants and monarchical government in any of his kingdoms; so doth he now declare, by commissionating of some persons by sea against the people of England, he did not intend damage or injury to his oppressed and harmless subjects in that kingdom, who follow their trade of merchandize in their lawful callings; but only the opposing and oppressing of those who had usurped the government, and not only bar him from his just right, but also exercise an arbitrary power over his people, in those things which concern their persons, consciences and estates: and as since his coming into Sotland, he hath given no com-

mission against any of his subjects in England and Ireland, so doth he hereby assure and declare, that he will give none to their prejudice or damage, and whatever shall be the wrongs of these usurpers, that he will be so far from avenging these upon any who are free thereof, by interrupting or stopping the liberty of trade and merchandize, or otherwise, that he will seek their good, and to the utmost employ his royal power, that they may be protected and defended against the utmost violence of all men whatsoever. And albeit, his majesty desires to construct well of the intentions of these (in reference to his majesty) who have been active in counsel or arms against the Covenant, yet being convinced that it doth conduce to the honour of God, the good of his cause, and his own honour and happiness, and for the peace and safety of these kingdoms, that such be not employed in places of power and trust; he doth declare that he will not employ nor give commission to any such, until they have not only taken or renewed the Covenant, but also have given sufficient evidences of their integrity, carriage, or affection to the work of reformation; and shall be declared capable of trust by the parliament of either kingdom respective: and his majesty, upon the same grounds, doth hereby recall all commissions given to any such persons; conceiving all such persons will so much tender a good understanding betwixt him and his subjects, and the settling and confirming a firm peace in these kingdoms, that they will not grudge nor repine at his majesty's resolutions and proceedings therein, much less upon discontent, act any thing in a way to the raising of new troubles; especially, since upon their pious and good deportment, there is a regress left unto them in manner above expressed.

“And as his majesty has given satisfaction to the just and necessary desires of the kirk and kingdom of Scotland, so doth he hereby assure and declare, that he is no less willing

and desirous to give satisfaction to the just and necessary desires of his good subjects in England and Ireland : and in token thereof, if the Houses of Parliament in England, sitting in freedom, shall think fit to present unto him the propositions of peace, agreed upon by both kingdoms, he will not only accord to the same, and such alterations thereon meant, as the Houses of Parliament, in regard of the constitution of affairs, and the good of his majesty and his kingdoms shall judge necessary, but do what is further necessary for prosecuting the ends of the Solemn League and Covenant ; especially in those things which concern the reformation of the Church of England, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government. That not only the directory of worship, confession of faith and catechism, but also the prepositions and directory for church-government, accorded upon by the synod of divines of Westminster, may be settled ; and that the Church of England may enjoy the full liberty and freedom of all assemblies, and power of kirk censures, and of all the ordinances of Jesus Christ, according to the rule of his own word, and that whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven may be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven ; and whatever heretofore hath been the suggestions of some to him, to render his majesty jealous of his parliament, and of the servants of God, yet as he hath declared, that in Scotland he will hearken to their counsel, and follow their advice in those things that concern that kingdom and kirk ; so doth he also declare his firm resolution to manage the government of the kingdom of England by the advice of his parliament, consisting of a house of lords, and a house of commons there ; and in those things that concern religion to prefer the counsels of the ministers of the gospel to all other counsels whatsoever. And that all the world may see how much he tenders the safety of his people, and how precious their blood is in his sight, and how desirous

he is to recover his crown and government in England by peaceable means; as he doth esteem the service of those who first engaged in the Covenant, and have since that time faithfully followed the ends thereof, to be duty to God and loyalty to him; so he is willing in regard of others, who have been involved in these late commotions in England, against religion and government, to pass an act of oblivion, excepting only some few in that nation, who have been chief obstructors of the work of reformation, and chief authors of the change of government, and of the murder of his royal father. Provided that those who are to have the benefit of this act, lay down arms, and return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign.

“The Committee of the Estates of the kingdom, and General Assembly of the kirk of Scotland, having declared so fully in what concerns the sectaries and the present designs, resolutions, and actings of their army against the kingdom of Scotland; and the said committee and assembly having sufficiently laid open public danger and duty, both upon the right hand and upon the left; it is not needful for his majesty to add any thing thereto; except that in those things he doth commend and approve them; and that he resolves to live and die with them and his loyal subjects, in prosecution of the ends of the Covenant.

“And whereas, that prevailing party in England, after all their strange usurpations, and insolent actings in that land, do not only keep his majesty from the government of that kingdom by force of arms; but also have now invaded the kingdom of Scotland, who have deserved better things at their hands, and against whom they have no just quarrel; his majesty doth therefore desire and expect that all his good subjects in England who are, and resolve to be faithful to God and to their king according to the Covenant, will lay hold upon such an opportunity, and use their utmost endeavours to promote the Covenant, all the ends thereof, and to recover and re-establish the ancient government of the kingdom of England

(under which in many generations it did flourish in peace, and plenty at home, and in reputation abroad) and privileges of the parliament and nation, and just liberty of the people : his majesty desirous to assure himself, that there doth remain in these so much confidence of their duty to religion, their king, and country; and so many sparkles of the ancient English valour, which shined so eminently in their noble ancestors, as will put them on to bestir themselves for the breaking the yoke of these men's oppressions from off their necks : shall men of conscience and honour set religion, liberties, and government at so low a rate, as not rather to undergo any hazard before they be thus deprived of them? will not all generous men count any death more tolerable than to live in servitude all their days? and will not posterity blame those who dare attempt nothing for themselves, and for their children, in so good a cause, in such an exigent? whereas if they gather themselves and take courage, putting on a resolution answerable to so noble and just an enterprize, they shall honour God, and gain themselves the reputation of pious men, worthy patriots, and loyal subjects, and be called the *repairers of the breach*, by the present and succeeding generations; and they may certainly promise to themselves a blessing from God upon so just and honourable an undertaking for the Lord, and for his cause, for their own liberties, their native king and country, and the unvaluable good and happiness of posterity. Whatever hath formerly been his majesty's guiltiness before God, and the bad success that those have had, who owned his affairs, whilst he stood in opposition to the work of God; yet the state of the question being now altered, and his majesty having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to prefer God's interest before his own, he hopes that the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause in the hands of weak and sinful instruments, against all enemies whatsoever.

"This is all that can be said by his majesty at present, to those in England and Ireland, at such a distance; and as they shall acquit themselves at this time, in the active discharge of their necessary duties, so shall they be accepted before God, endeared to his majesty, and their names had in remembrance throughout the world. Given at our court, at Dunfermline, the 16th of August, 1650, and in the second year of our reign."

The enthusiastic preachers of the Covenant, wrested the command of the Scottish army out of the hands of General Leslie, and were accordingly defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar, where he exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into my hands." It is uncertain whether Charles or Cromwell was most gratified with the result of this battle. It became necessary to raise a new army; and Charles desired that the loyalists, and his own particular friends, should be allowed to enter his service; but this the Covenanting ministers resisted, alleging that the *malignants* were insincere in their forced submission to the Covenant. In this dilemma, a question was submitted to the Committee of Estates, and to the Commission of the Kirk, "whether in this extremity those who had made defection, or who had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not, upon profession of their repentance, be received into public trust, and admitted to serve in defence of their country." This was answered by

two *Resolutions* :—1. “That they ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance. 2. That after such professions made, they might be received to defend and serve their country.”

These resolutions were violently opposed by the Covenanting ministers, and produced a division which Willison acknowledges, “looked like a judicial stroke from Heaven upon the church for their other sins.” The old Covenanter is right, and it separated the wheat from the chaff; for those clergy who adhered to the resolutions, to a man, acknowledged and adhered to Episcopacy after the Restoration. The Covenanters who opposed or protested against these resolutions, were subsequently known in history by the name of “*Protestors*,” “*Remonstrators*,” and “*Ante-Resolutioners*.” The loyalists were known by the title of “*Resolutioners*.” After this, the Protestors heaped more indignities and insults on the king, and even threatened to deliver him up to Cromwell. Seeing no end to the encroachments of the Protestor ministers, he fled northward to the army under General Middleton, where he treated with the Covenanters, and exchanged hostages for the due performance. One of the articles stipulated that he should be immediately crowned, as agreed on at Breda. The Committee of Estates sent General Montgomery to fetch the king back to Perth; and in

revenge for Middleton's loyalty, the commission of the General Assembly excommunicated him, and Guthrie pronounced the sentence. The following is Wodrow's account of this transaction :—

“ When I was last at Stirling, happening in discourse with one Mr. Russell, a man abundantly sensible but a strong Episcopalian, to speak of Mr. James Guthrie, I found he had very harsh impressions of him, saying, that he was a man of stiff, uneasy temper, adhering to whatever he set his mind to most pertinaciously; and particularly, he was guilty of a most notorious act of rebellion against the king, which was this: that having received an order from the commission of the General Assembly, to intimate the sentence of excommunication against the Earl of Middleton, publicly, in the church of Stirling on the sabbath (Sunday) morning on which it was done, he received a letter from the king, who was then at St. Johnston's, (Perth,) earnestly pressing him to delay the intimation of the sentence of excommunication for that sabbath (Sunday.) The letter was sent by a nobleman (as he called him,) and delivered into his hand. After Mr. Guthrie read the letter, the messenger demanded his answer. Mr. Guthrie answered, ‘ You may come to church and hear sermon, and after sermon you shall get your answer.’ The messenger thinking that he would obey the contents of the letter, went to church, but was surprised after sermon, when Mr. Guthrie made public intimation of the sentence; so taking horse immediately, without waiting for any further answer, went off with the report of what he had seen done. This was his account of the matter, which I reported to my father when I came west, who gave me likewise his account, viz., That upon the sabbath (Sunday) morning, before Mr. Guthrie intimated Middleton's excommunication, just as he was going

to church, having put on his gown and come down to his hall, there comes in a gentleman with a letter, bearing the same contents with the letter in the former account, but with this variation in his account, that it came not from the king immediately, but from a nobleman. Whether that nobleman had the king's order, he could not tell. Mr. G. having but little time to advise on it, the last bell being rung out, his wife said to him, ' My heart, what the Lord gives you light and clearness to do, that do without giving a positive answer to the messenger.' He went to church, and whether the messenger went to church or not, I know not. This my father was an eye and ear witness to."*

After depriving the king of all the power and attributes of a king, leaving him nothing but the bare name, the Committee of Estates and Covenanting ministers, crowned him at Scone, on the 1st of January, 1651. Instead of receiving the crown and benediction from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Marquis of Argyle placed it on his head. Here again they compelled him to sign the sacrilegious Covenant, and we learn from Guthrie's book, that " when he did condescend to subscribe their demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a *reserve of a declaration*, to be printed therewith, which he did not pass from, until the commissioners of the kirk did refuse to admit thereof."† It is much to be re-

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, MSS., vol. i. p. 164.

† *The Causes of God's Wrath*, &c.

gretted that this declaration or protest has not been preserved, as it was a great alleviation of the sin of which they compelled him to be guilty; but it showed to what straits he was reduced, and with what genuine reluctance he signed that sacrilegious bond of rebellion. Those who forced it upon him, however, had the greater sin. Douglass preached the sermon.

Guthrie likewise preached a most seditious sermon, and was summoned by the lord advocate, to answer for sedition and treason, before the king and Committee of Estates. Guthrie appeared, but delivered a *protest*, signifying that he did not acknowledge his majesty, or their lordships as proper judges of his doctrine, or of what concerned his ministerial calling, that being alone the province of the church judicatories. He also protested for remedy at law against the king, for thus disturbing him in the exercise of his ministry. This was setting up the popish doctrine of the independence of the ecclesiastical over the civil power; a doctrine which that party all along have resolutely maintained. In Guthrie's case, however, it was not his religious opinions that were to be inquired into, but the *sedition and treason* which he had preached, and in which he gloried. He would not yield the point of exemption, but presented a second protest to the same effect; he was in consequence dismissed. "He railed rudely

on the king and the ‘malignants,’ and he is said to have been impressed with the worst ideas of Popery, under the mask of enthusiastic antipathy to it, and possessing neither the learning of a divine, nor the manners of a gentleman. It is a certain fact, that being confined by illness to his room at Stirling, the king paid him a visit, and when his wife rose to hand his majesty a chair, he said, ‘Sit still, sit still, gude wife; the king is a young man, and can hand a chair to himself!’”*

In the year 1653, he published his treasonable book called “The Causes of God’s Wrath against Scotland.” One of the causes which he assigned was, “the authorising of commissioners to close a treaty with the king, for the investing him with the government, upon his subscribing such demands as were sent to him.” He alleged “that those demands were deficient, being only a paper and verbal security;”—“that to settle with him on such verbal securities, and accordingly to entrust him, was but to mock God, and to deceive the world, and to betray and destroy ourselves.” He assumed an attribute of divinity, and pretended to know the king’s heart, saying, that it was *not sound*; for, says he, “when he did condescend to subscribe the demands, and

* Guthrie’s History of Scotland, vol. x. p. 89.

take the Covenant, it was with a *reserve of a declaration* to be printed therewith, which he did not pass from until the commissioners of the church did refuse to admit thereof." Had this royal protest been preserved, posterity might have seen what were his majesty's reasons for yielding to the sacrilege which these intolerant rebels forced upon him; and it might, in some measure, have alleviated his sin, in putting his hand to that most accursed document. Another cause of God's wrath, in Guthrie's opinion, was the loyalty of the parliament in proclaiming Charles II. without "seeking the Lord," that is, not consulting the Presbyterian ministers. Another cause of divine wrath, was Charles having so long resisted the signing the Dunfermline Declaration, until he was in danger of being deserted by his army, and sent prisoner into the camp of Oliver Cromwell. It is laid to his charge, "that he did for a long time refuse to subscribe the Declaration which was tendered to him, for the acknowledging of his own and his parents' guiltiness for the time past, and according to his duty for the time to come; and after that he had, with a great deal of reluctancy, subscribed to the same, he did oftentimes express, that he did not think his father guilty of blood, and that, notwithstanding he had so declared, he had his own meaning thereof."

After the Restoration, when the parliament met in 1660, Guthrie convened nine or ten of the fiery Protestors, and drew up a petition or remonstrance, which Burnet calls "a warm paper, prepared by one Guthrie, one of the violentest ministers of the whole party. In it, after some cold compliment to the king upon his restoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant, which he had so solemnly sworn while among them. They lamented that, instead of pursuing the ends of it in England, as he had sworn to do, he had set up the Common Prayer in his chapel, and the order of bishops; upon which they made terrible denunciations of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not stand to the Covenant, which they called the oath of God." This meeting and the remonstrance were deemed seditious, and the whole set were sent to the castle; but after a short confinement were set at liberty, with the exception of Guthrie. In the meantime his book, "The Causes of God's Wrath, &c." and also, "Lex Rex," another seditious book written by a Covenanting fanatic of the name of Rutherford, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Cross of Edinburgh. A proclamation was at the same time issued, requiring the Protestor ministers and their adherents to enter into bonds, obliging themselves to do nothing tending to the prejudice of his majesty's person, family, and

authority ; and prohibiting them, in all time coming, from promoting or abetting the Remonstrance, under the highest pains and penalties. This sufficiently shows the pernicious tendency of Mr. Guthrie's principles and those of his faction, whom neither the laws of God nor man could restrain.

Guthrie was removed from the castle of Edinburgh to that of Stirling, whence he was brought to Edinburgh for trial, early in the year 1661. On the 20th of February he was indicted for high-treason, and his indictment contained six counts :—

“ 1. His contriving, consenting to, and exhibiting before the Committee of Estates the paper, called the Western Remonstrance, in which he seditiously and traitorously purposed the eradicating and subverting of the fundamental government, &c.—2. His contriving, writing, and publishing that abominable pamphlet, called “ The Causes of God’s Wrath,” &c.—3. His contriving, writing, and subscribing a paper, called the Humble Petition of the 23d of August last, when he was apprehended.—4. His convocating of the king’s lieges at several times without warrant or authority, to the disturbance of the peace of the state and of the church.—5. His declaring his majesty, by his appeal and protestation, incapable to be judge over him, which he presented at Perth.—6. His uttering treasonable expressions in the year 1651.”

To this indictment he made a vigorous and ingenious defence, founding the whole on the obligations of the Covenant ; which clearly shows

the treasonable and sacrilegious nature of that Popish document, and on the doctrines, confession of faith, and the laws of the Presbyterian church. He was found guilty of high-treason, and condemned to be hanged, and afterwards beheaded, and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of the gates of the city. He suffered accordingly, and his head was placed on the gate, as directed in his sentence.

Burnet says, " he was a resolute and stiff man ; so when his lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be advised by them, but resolved to take his own way. He confessed and justified all that he had done as *agreeing to the principles and practices of the kirk*, which he had asserted all along, that the doctrine delivered in their sermons did not fall under the cognizance of the temporal courts till it was first judged by the church ; for which he brought much tedious proof. He said his protesting for remedy of law against the king, was not meant at the king's person, but was only with relation to costs and damages."* Another author speaking of him, says—" his defence was so strong that nothing but the notorious criminality of his conduct could have condemned him : some were not for condemning him capitally, but the majority being

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 206.

of a different opinion, he received sentence of death; *which, candidly speaking, he well deserved.* His trial appears to have been very fair, and carried on with great attention and patience, both by the lawyers and judges. The latter moments of this very extraordinary man were agreeable to the whole tenor of his life. There is reason to believe he had very high offers, even that of a bishopric made him, if he would have recanted. When it was told Charles, by one of the members, that Gillespie, who was Guthrie's fellow-labourer, had so many friends in the parliament, that his life could not be taken, 'Well, (said his majesty,) if I had known you would have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie.' He seems, in short, to have proposed John Knox as the model of his conduct; and though their fates were different they were equally undaunted in maintaining their principles against the face of the civil power."*

Archbishop Sharp interceded with the king for the lives of Simpson, Gillespie, and Guthrie; a circumstance honourable to the archbishop, and whose letter Wodrow has suppressed, in his printed history. His letter is addressed to Sir Archibald Primrose, lord-register, as follows:—

* Guthrie's General Hist. vol. x. p. 91.

“ That your parliamentary acts of justice have been tempered with mercy, I think should not be displeasing, especially since the object of the mercy hath made a confession which I wish may have as binding an influence for converting of those of his way as his former actings had in perverting them. I did, at my first access to the king, beg that the lives of Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Guthrie might be spared, which his majesty denied me ; but now the recommendation of the parliament upon a ground which I could not bring, I hope will prevail with so gracious a prince, more merciful than the kings of Israel. Upon an earnest letter from Mr. James Simpson to me, to whom I did owe no great kindness, I begged of the king, that he might not be proceeded against for his life and corporal punishment, which his majesty was graciously pleased to grant me, by a letter for that purpose, directed to my lord commissioner. When your lordship shall hear my inducements, I hope you will not condemn me.”*

Although this letter was in Wodrow's possession ; yet he suppressed it, lest his diabolical purpose of slandering the archbishop's memory should have been frustrated, and the world should know that that prelate had *saved the lives of two of his own capital enemies*, and used his best endeavours to save the third.

Guthrie the minister, was the son of — Guthrie of that Ilk, a title which, in Scotland, is considered extremely honourable. “ When he was a regent in St. Andrews, he was *very Episcopal*, and was with difficulty persuaded to take

* Wodrow's MSS., cited in note to Kirkton's History.

the Covenant. He was a man of great piety, learning, judgment, and eloquence, but was pitched upon for a sacrifice and example amongst the ministers; partly because he was a great leader among the Protestors, and a great unfriend (enemy) to malignant and scandalous ministers; partly because he was desperately hated by Middleton, whom he had formerly excommunicated.”* Strange ideas of piety seem to have been entertained by the Presbyterians, which consisted in speaking evil of dignities—refusing to Cæsar his dues—teaching sedition and rebellion in the state, and schism and persecution in the church—and generally, all uncharitableness; for in their vocabulary all loyal Episcopalians were *malignant and scandalous ministers*. Burnet, who was present at his execution, says, “It was resolved to strike terror into them (the Protestor ministers) by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went through all his trouble with great firmness. But this way of proceeding struck the whole party with such a consternation, that it had all the effect which was designed by it: for whereas the pulpits had, to the great scandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their spleen, and arraigned all proceedings; they be-

* Kirkton's History, p. 109.

came more decent, and there was a general silence everywhere, with relation to the affairs of state ; only they could not hold from many sly and secret insinuations, as if the ark of God was shaking, and the glory departing.” *

On the 16th of July, 1660, orders were sent to Major-general Morgan, to arrest Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston ; but he made his escape beyond sea. He was summoned to surrender by sound of trumpet ; and the general issued a proclamation offering a reward of £100 Scots for his apprehension, and discharging all men from concealing or harbouring him on pain of treason. On the 10th of October he was declared fugitive. He reached Hamburgh, and after wandering about for some time, he settled at Rouen, when Louis XIV. ordered him to be seized, and sent him over under arrest, to London, in the year 1663. On the 13th May, 1661, he was forfeited by parliament, and his forfeiture publicly proclaimed by the heralds, at the Market-cross.

He was deeply engaged in the rebellion in its early stages ; and was clerk of the treasonable Glasgow assembly in the year 1638. Burnet, who was his own nephew, and a man of similarly versatile politics, admits, “ *that there was a great deal against him.*” He took an active share in

* Own Times, p. 183.

the usurping government which maintained the rebellion against Charles I. Being a man of great abilities, he was much courted by Cromwell, by whom he was created a lord, and sat and voted in his house of peers, and into whose counsels he entered with his characteristic ardour. He supported the brief government of Richard Cromwell, and after his resignation, was one of the Council of State. He was afterwards a member of the Committee of Safety, and of course actively opposed the king's restoration. All the charges against him were easily proved, because they were notorious. He was sent from the Tower to Edinburgh, in 1663, and there tried for high-treason, and attainted. Burnet says, "his unfortunate uncle was so disordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach for any government to proceed against him. His memory was gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before parliament to hear what he had to say, why his execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a broken and disordered strain, which his enemies fancied, was put on to excite pity. He was sentenced to die."* His mental imbecility was occasioned, Kirkton says, by poison, administered by Dr. Bates, at the king's desire, and by excessive

* Own Times, p. 340.

bleeding. This is one of those uncharitable surmises, in the entire absence of all evidence, which the historians of that party always record as most veritable truths. Burnet, who was his own nephew, and would naturally extenuate his "unfortunate uncle" as much as possible, neither mentions nor alludes to any such circumstance. There is no doubt but his imbecility was assumed, and put on to excite pity and to screen himself from merited punishment. Lord Middleton, wrote to Primrose:—"He pretends to have lost his memory, and so will give no account of any thing. He is the most timorous person that ever I did see in my life, and pretends he can do the king great service, if he will give him his life, in putting the registers in good order, and settling the king's prerogative from old records."* He was sentenced to be hanged at the Cross, and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, beside Guthrie's. Nothing can be a clearer proof that his imbecility was mere pretence, than his conduct after his fate was sealed by sentence of death and when there was no longer any hope of life, then his intellect became suddenly as clear and vigorous as in his best days. Burnet says that, "when the day of his execution came, he was very serene. He was cheerful, and

* Wodrow's MS., cited in note to Kirkton, p. 170.

seemed fully satisfied with his death. He read a speech twice over on the scaffold, that to my knowledge he composed himself, in which *he justified* all the proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but condemned his joining with Cromwell and the sectaries, though even in that, his intentions had been sincere, for the good of his country and the security of religion." * Cruickshanks says, "thus fell the *eminently pious* and learned Lord Warriston!" How could any government trust men whose *eminent piety* consisted in sacrilege, treason, rebellion, and the murder of their sovereign? Yet *eminent piety* was ascribed to all such men by Kirkton and Wodrow and their followers; whereas they invariably style those loyal and peaceable men, who quietly pursued the path of duty in obedience to divine and human laws, malignants—ungodly—execrable wretches—drunkards—unchaste—avaricious—sorcerers, &c.

* Own Times, pp. 340, 341.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Sharp receives a pension—Chosen Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's—Calamy's letter—Thanks of the Presbytery of Edinburgh—Resigns his commission—Wodrow—King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh—Reflections—Protest of the bishops in 1638—Reflections—The Tender—Committee of Estates—Returns to Crail—National Records lost—Meeting of Parliament—Riding—Oath of Allegiance—Acts—Act Rescissory—Restoration of Episcopacy—Festival of the king's Restoration appointed—Patronages restored—Reflections—Proceedings of the Covenanters—Mr. Sharp summoned to Court—Petition of the Synod of Aberdeen—Sharp and Douglass summoned to Court—King's popularity—Sharp appointed Archbishop of St. Andrew's—Lauderdale—Proclamation—Letter from the king to the privy-council—Proclamation—Popular opinion—Nicols Diary—Douglass—Brief account of the first four bishops—Proclamation—Sharp and Leighton ordained priests—Four consecrated bishops—Extract from the Lambeth register-book—Reflections.

1660. In consideration of Mr. Sharp's many and important services, Charles conferred on him a pension of £200. per annum, and which he enjoyed till the day of his murder. While absent in London, he was chosen Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews; but his biographer seems to think it

doubtful whether he ever entered on the duties of the office. He was likewise appointed one of the royal commissioners for visiting the University of Aberdeen, to inquire into the management of its revenues since the year 1638.

He arrived in Edinburgh on the 31st of August, and on the following day the Presbytery of Edinburgh met, to whom Mr. Douglass read the king's letter, which was addressed to himself, to be by him communicated to that court. Mr. Sharp also delivered the letter already given from Calamy, Ashe, and Manton, with which, "after much belabouring," he had been entrusted. The Presbytery returned a letter of thanks to the king, and another to the Earl of Lauderdale. At this meeting of Presbytery, Mr. Sharp restored the commission which he had received from Douglass and others, to represent them at court; and so highly satisfied were they with his negotiations, both at Breda and at London, that they unanimously presented him with a *vote of thanks*.

That public act showed plainly that Mr. Sharp had acted in strict conformity with his instructions; and that he enjoyed the full confidence of his brethren. Nevertheless, Mr. Wodrow does not scruple to allege, that those very men entertained suspicions of his integrity at the very moment when they were putting their deliberate

and solemn thanks and approbation of his conduct on record. He cites a manuscript of Mr. Douglass's, which might have been written after disappointment had soured his temper; and as he afterwards cast in his lot with the Protestors, his suspicions, which, *if* he entertained *any at all*, he carefully concealed at the time of giving Mr. Sharp public thanks, must have been afterwards produced by the envy and malignity of that party. It is hardly credible, that a body of men could have been so inconsistent, as in the face of awakened suspicion of having betrayed their interests, would have stultified themselves by offering him their deliberate vote of thanks. But in making this assertion, Mr. Wodrow was faithfully following his instructions to "aggravate the crimes" and blacken the memories of his adversaries. The following letter shows the loose way in which he received and recorded his information; and although bearing inaccuracy on the face of it, is yet seized on by those desirous of keeping up the false accusation against the archbishop. He says, that a "Mr. James Webster tells, that he had it from a person that had it from Calamy, the grandfather, that Calamy told this person, that he still suspected Sharp; he was too fawning, and he carried still rather like the deference of a scholar to a master, than ane minister to another. That one day he came

to him, and told him he believed the king was going to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. Mr. Calamy said, he did not believe it; it was too much inpolitic. Says Sharp, 'I assure you of it, and he has made unworthy me Bishop of St. Andrews.' Says he, (Calamy,) 'That will certainly be grievous to the hearts of all serious persons.' Sharp took God to witness he embraced that place only to encourage such and keep them from persecution."* It is to be feared, that much that Wodrow has recorded of the transactions of these times are founded, like the above, on mere gossip.

The king's letter to the Presbytery, addressed to Mr. Douglass, and which was by him to be communicated to that body, is dated the 10th of August, 1660; and was addressed,

"To our trusty and well-beloved Mr. Robert Douglass, Minister of the Gospel in our city of Edinburgh, to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—By the letter you sent to us with the bearer, Mr. James Sharp, and by the account he gave of the state of our church there, we have received full information of your sense of our sufferings, and of your constant affection and loyalty to our person and authority. And therefore we will detain him here no longer, (of whose good service we are very sensible;) nor will we

* *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 133.

delay to let you know by him, our gracious acceptance of your address, and how we are satisfied with your carriage, and with the generality of the ministers of Scotland in this time of trial, whilst some under specious pretences swerved from that duty and allegiance they owed to us. And because such, who by the countenance of usurpers have disturbed the peace of that our church, may also labour to create jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, we have thought fit by this to assure you, that by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance profanity, and all contemnners and opposers of the ordinances of the gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation; and to countenance, in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee in the year 1651, be owned and stand in force, until we shall call another General Assembly, which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit. And we do intend to send for Mr. Robert Douglass and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what may further concern the affairs of that church. And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle without your sphere, so we do expect that church judicatories in Scotland, and ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of all such, who by preaching and private conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling, by endeavouring to corrupt the people, or to sow seeds of disaffection to us or to our government. This you shall make known to the several Presbyteries within that our kingdom. And as we do

give assurance of our favour and encouragement to you, and to all honest deserving ministers there, so we earnestly recommend it to you all, that you be earnest in your prayers, public and private to Almighty God, who is our rock and our deliverer, both for us and for our government, that we may have fresh and constant supplies of his grace, and the right improvement of all his mercies and deliverances, to the honour of his great name, and the peace, safety, and benefit of all our kingdoms. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th of August, 1660, and of our reign, the twelfth year. By his majesty's command."

"LAUDERDALE."

An elegant writer of a recent date has declared this letter to be ambiguous. "Upon a comparison," says Bishop Russel, "of the literal meaning of this document with the measures which were soon after adopted, a charge of duplicity has, not without some show of reason, been made against Charles." A slight attention to *history* will, however, show that this "charge of duplicity" is not founded on fact. With the exception of about eight years, a nominal Episcopacy had existed from the time of the Reformation in 1560 to the year 1610, when Spottiswood and others were consecrated at London. In that year James VI. called an Assembly, which met at Glasgow, and settled in a full and free meeting that the church of Scotland should *for ever* after be governed by duly consecrated bishops. The subject was de-

bated in that Assembly for three days ; and Episcopacy was the deliberate and nearly the unanimous choice of the whole national church. There were one hundred and seventy ministers present, five only of whom were opposed to Episcopacy, and seven did not vote either way. In that Assembly, the bishops were invested with a negative power : that is, that mere Presbyters could not enact any canon binding on the whole church, without the consent of the bishops. If they could not so much as enact a canon, they certainly could not legally subvert the whole government of the national church. The Assembly of 1610 settled the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland *for ever*, and put it out of the power of any future Assembly of mere Presbyters to set it aside, and erect another. The acts of that Assembly were solemnly ratified and rendered permanently legal by the king and three estates of parliament in 1612. Charles I. convoked an Assembly at Glasgow, in the year 1638, to which he sent the Duke of Hamilton as his commissioner. This Assembly *forcibly* excluded the bishops from their seats as constituent members, and continued to sit and deliberate after the king's commissioner had legally dissolved it, and who declared their continued sitting to be *high-treason*, and *protested against whatever acts they might pass*. The bishops too entered their solemn protest

against the legality of that assembly's enactments, and "*that none of their deeds be reputed the acts of the church of Scotland.*" Nevertheless, the members of that Assembly, who were mere Presbyters and laymen, and many of whom were not legally commissioned, continued to sit and enact ecclesiastical laws, in defiance of the royal authority, and of the protest of the bishops.

In their protest, the bishops declared that Assembly to be "*most unlawful and disorderly, and their proceedings null and void in law, for the following reasons :—*

" 1. Because the most part, if not all, the commissioners were chosen *before* the Assembly was indicted by the king's authority.—2. Because the ministers who were sent commissioners to this Assembly are not qualified according to the forty-sixth parliament of James VI., cap. 3, by assenting to and subscribing the confession of faith in presence of the archbishops or bishops, and taking the oaths of supremacy and fidelity.—3. Because they refused to subscribe the confession of faith, as it was enjoined by the king.—4. Because they have impugned the dignity and privilege of the bishops, who are one of the estates of parliament, contrary to the act one hundred and thirty, parliament eight, of James VI.—5. Because they have their commission from Presbyteries, who have *forfeited* all privilege of sending commissioners to the Assembly, in so far as they have deposed the moderators, who were lawfully appointed by the bishops to govern them in their synods, and elected others in their places, contrary to the act of assembly 1610, and parliament 1612.—6. Because they have associated to themselves a laic ruling elder out of every session, who being ordinarily a man of authority, doth

over-rule in the election ; whereas lay-elders have *not sat* ordinarily in Presbyteries these forty years, nor ever had any voice in the election of ministers for the General Assembly.—7. Because the commissioners to this Assembly have so behaved, that they may justly be thought incapable of commission to a free and lawful assembly ; for, first, by their seditious and railing pamphlets they have wounded the king's honour and authority, and *animated his lieges to rebellion* ; second, they are known to be such as have either been schismatical, refractory, and opposite to good order settled in the church and state ; or such as having *promised, subscribed, and sworn obedience to their bishop, have never made conscience of their oath* ; or such as having sworn and accordingly practised, yet, contrary to their promise and practice, have resiled, to the contempt of authority, and disturbance of the the church ; or such as are under the censures of the church of Ireland for their disobedience to order, or are under the censures of this church, or convened, at least deserving to be convened, before their ordinaries, or a lawful General Assembly, for divers transgressions deserving deprivation.—8. Because they admit that lay-elders have a decisive voice in the Assembly, which is not consistent with reason, scripture, or the practice of the Christian church.—9. Because the most part, if not all, the commissioners directed to this meeting, have *precondemned* Episcopal government and the five articles of Perth ; have approved their Covenant as most necessary to be embraced by all the kingdom ; and not only have given judgment of these things *beforehand*, but by most solemn oaths have bound themselves to *defend and stand to the same*. Now it is known that among other reasons which made our reformers decline the Council of Trent, this was the chief, that Pope Leo had pre-condemned Luther before the meeting of that Council.—10. Because the greatest part, if not all of those pretended commissioners have declared themselves a *party*

against the bishops of this church, by their calumnies and reproaches ; especially in *forging, devising, venting, and publishing a most infamous libel, full of lies and calumnies against the bishops*, which they caused to be published in all the churches of Edinburgh, on Sunday, the 28th of October, 1638, against all charity, which doth not delight in the discovery of men's nakedness ; against the Apostle's rule, 'rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father ;' against the act of James VI. c. 8, discharging all persons to impugn or procure the diminution and power of the three estates, or any of them ; against all lawful formal proceedings prescribed by acts of Assembly, ordaining that all summonses contain the special cause and crime, which the said libel doth not ; against common equity, which admits summonses only by the authority of that judge before whom the delinquent is to appear. Now the Assembly was not open when the summonses were given, neither can summonses by the Presbytery be sustained for compareance before the General Assembly ; and against all decency and respect due to men of their place and dignity.—11. Because they have publicly declared that no primate, archbishop or bishop have place or decisive voice in the General Assembly, except they be authorized and elected by their Presbyterial meetings, consisting of preaching or ruling elders, which is against reason and the practice of the church in the primitive and purest times.—12. Because they deny to the primate to be moderator or president of the Assembly, but only he who is chosen by the suffrages of Presbyters and laymen, contrary to the appointment of ancient councils, and contrary to our own laws, both municipal and ecclesiastical, annis 1606, 1608, and 1610. As for that act at Montrose, let them answer to it that have their calling by that commission. Finally, seeing all pastors are inferior to bishops, how absurd is it, and contrary to all reason and practice of the Christian church, that archbishops and bishops shall be judged

by Presbyters ! and more absurd that they should be judged by a mixed meeting of Presbyters and laics, convening *without lawful authority of the church*. And for these reasons they do *DECLINE the Assembly, and PROTEST, that NONE of her DEEDS be reputed the ACTS of the church of Scotland.*"

In the face of this protest by the heads of the church, and the king's proclamation crying down the Assembly, can its acts for one moment be deemed legal ? A successful rebellion gave temporary force and currency to the illegal enactments of that Assembly, and of some meetings of two of the estates, which were called parliaments. But the parliament which met after the Revolution declared all former pretended parliaments illegal, and of no force. The act of Assembly, 1610, and the act of parliament of 1612, therefore, although in abeyance, were still in force, and still were the law of the land, consequently Charles could mean nothing else but that he would maintain the Episcopal government "*as it was settled by law.*" Looking to the example of England, we can see no ambiguity whatever in the king's letter. The Episcopal government in England was overturned, and the bishops shut out of their place in parliament, by an usurped authority, in the same manner as in Scotland. On the Restoration, however, the English bishops, who were alive, took possession of their sees on their return to England, without any formality of

law. It was contended and unanimously admitted, that they had been deprived by no legal authority. Mr. Sharp, in his letter of the 7th of July, expressly says, that lawyers *proved* to the court, that the English bishops had not been ousted by law of any point of their jurisdiction, save of the high-commission court. There was not even an act of parliament to restore them, so illegal was their sequestration esteemed. Upon what principle then could the Presbyterians in Scotland imagine themselves to be legally established? They had usurped the places and livings of the Episcopal clergy, contrary to the unrepealed laws of the land, and compelled the bishops to flee to England for the preservation of their lives. Indeed, for that matter the acts of Assembly 1610, and of parliament 1612, *stand unrepealed to this day*.

Episcopacy, therefore, had never been legally abolished. After serious enquiry into the causes of the rebellion, parliament found it was chargeable on the Solemn League and Covenant, and on those who adhered to it. Although endeavours were made to induce the Presbyterians to renounce the Covenant, yet the Protestors would not renounce it, thinking themselves bound by its obligations. The parliament rationally concluded "that the same men, owning the same principles, would be ready upon occasion to act

over again the same things." They therefore restored Episcopacy as the primitive and apostolical government of the church ; and " did sustain Episcopacy as a *part* of the state, but never as an hierarchy independent from it." In no age or country has Episcopacy ever forced its way into the state by the sword or rebellion ; but has always strenuously maintained and taught the great and essential principle of the Christian religion, " that the uncontroverted magistrate was always to be obeyed, if not actively yet passively." Whereas Presbytery has always entered by means of the sword and of rebellion ; and the Protestors actually disowned, and proclaimed war against the king. At Sanquhar they declared " that the Covenant was the original contract betwixt God, the people, and the king ; and therefore the king having broke it, forfeited his crown ; and by that means, since he was only to be considered as a private subject " (of whom ?) " and enemy to God, it was lawful for them *to kill him, and all who served him*, according to the noble examples of Phineas and Ehud."* In pursuance of this doctrine, the Covenanters assaulted many of the clergy, and murdered soldiers for no other reason than because they wore the royal uniform.

Mr. Wodrow makes some very lugubrious and

* Sir G. Mackenzie's Vindication, fol. p. 342.

uncharitable reflections on the royal letter, which he ascribes to the dictation of Mr. Sharp. "A very full testimony," says he, "is given to the loyalty and affection of the Presbyterian ministers of this church, to the king, under his sufferings, which was so glaring that it could not be hid; and yet the declaring of it was as severe a reproach as could be upon the authors of their maltreatment." The ministers, to whose loyalty and affection a full testimony was given, were the Resolutioners, who were the old Episcopalian clergy, and who are confounded by Wodrow with the Protestors, who were Presbyterians, when it suits his purpose of imposing the belief on his readers, that the whole kingdom were thoroughly and willingly Presbyterian. No fact of history can be more clear, than that the Resolutioners were Episcopalian to a man, for they recognised and embraced Episcopacy without a dissentient voice, when it was restored the following year; whereas the Protestors stood out, and created that schism which produced such deplorable effects during the reigns of Charles and James, and which again broke out in the Presbyterian establishment, after the Revolution, under the name of the Secession. "The inuendo," he continues, "that follows from those who swerved from their duty and allegiance to the king, is a sensible proof of the confidence and disingenuity of Mr.

Sharp, who, though he designed this against the Protestors, knew well enough that not a minister of the Church of Scotland, *as far as I know*, no, not Mr. Gillespie, had swerved so far from their allegiance as to take the Tender, or offered to come into any measures Cromwell would lay down; and yet his own conscience could not but reproach him as guilty of this”—that is, of taking the Tender, and swerving from his allegiance. The Tender was an oath or instrument, by which the party signing abjured or renounced allegiance to King Charles II. Wodrow accuses Mr. Sharp of being the only individual who made this abjuration; “than which,” says his biographer, “nothing was ever more *false* or *calumnious*, nor had ever Mr. Sharp, or any other minister, the least temptation to that wickedness.”† Neither could he have “penned” the king’s letter, as he was not at that time a privy-counsellor. In this case, as in most of the other parts of his history, Mr. Wodrow allows his spleen to overmaster his honesty; and, indeed, his barefaced and enormous lying often defeats his own purpose. If Mr. Sharp took the Tender, which his contemporary and biographer says *he did not*, Mr. Douglass and others, his consti-

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 21.

† True and Impartial Account, p. 13.

tuents, could not have been ignorant of it ; what therefore must we think of their honesty and loyalty, in deputing a man said to be stained with the guilt of treason, and under a solemn oath to abjure and renounce that very sovereign, with whom he was deputed to negotiate. But this treason was not laid to his charge till *after* it became necessary “ to aggravate the crimes of their adversaries,” and his in a more especial manner.

The whole Presbytery of Edinburgh returned a letter of thanks to the king, and another to Lauderdale, signed by thirty-two ministers ; whereas, Mr. Sharp’s instructions were signed by six ministers only, who took upon themselves to act in the name of the whole church. They, however, made no intercession for their brethren, the Protestors, whose conduct was not particularly loyal. In the month of November, the Synod of Lothian transmitted to Lauderdale another letter of thanks and congratulation.

As before mentioned, Charles entrusted the government of Scotland to a Committee of Estates, which met in October, and issued a proclamation, in which they imposed a cess for paying the commissioners’ charges, and the English army then quartered in Scotland ; and also commanded the books called “ *Lex Rex*,” and the “ Causes of God’s Wrath,” to be called in and burnt by the hands of the common hangman,

at the Cross of Edinburgh. *Lex Rex* was an infamous book, written by Rutherford, who was at one time Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, and whose writings are designated by Mr. Arnott, as “ a composition of hypocrisy, calumny, obscenity and nonsense—not to add blasphemy.” They also issued a proclamation for the assembling of parliament, for the despatch of business, in December of the same year ; and another, “ concerning the carriage of the king’s subjects during the late troubles,” in which it is said, “ and hereby we do further assure them, that our own honour, and the honour of that our ancient kingdom being vindicated, and the ancient prerogative of the crown being asserted, we will grant such a full and free pardon, and act of indemnity, as shall witness there is nothing we are more desirous of, than that our people may be blessed with abundance of happiness, peace and plenty, under our government.” Charles ordered the forts built by Cromwell to be demolished, and their garrisons withdrawn. New magistrates of approved loyalty were elected for all the burghs, and the parliament was prorogued till the 1st of January, 1661.

On his return from London, in August, 1660, Mr. Sharp resigned his commission into the hands of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, although it did not emanate from that body, but from a

few individual ministers; and that court bestowed on him a vote of thanks for his faithful services. After this honourable testimony of their approbation, he resumed his official duties in his own parish at Crail. -- He does not again appear in public life, except to preach before the parliament, till he was summoned to London by the king's command, in October, 1661. Among some original papers in the "Episcopal chest" at Aberdeen, which I have been very handsomely permitted by the prelates of the church in Scotland to copy, there is a letter from Lauderdale to Mr. Sharp; it is of no great consequence, but it shows that the latter was not so deep in the plot for upsetting Presbytery as Mr. Wodrow asserts:—

"My dear Friend,—The king's commands keep me heir, so that I shall not see you till the spring. In the meantime, I long for your advice as to what I wrote of Glasgow, and the professor's place at St. Andrews, with a draft of the two presentations. Remember me kindly to all friends. Remember me kindly to Mr. Douglass and Mr. Hutchinson.

"I am your friend to serve you,

(Signed) "Lauderdale."

"Whitehall, 2d December, 1660."

During the usurpation, Cromwell, in imitation of Edward I., carried off all the registers and public documents belonging to Scotland, and

deposited them in the Tower of London. Charles ordered these to be packed up and returned to Scotland: they were shipped on board a small trading vessel belonging to Kirkaldy, which was wrecked on the passage, and the whole national records, consisting of eighty-five hogsheads full of papers, were entirely lost. The Earl of Middleton arrived at Holyrood-House, on the 31st of December, as royal commissioner.

1661. Agreeable to the proclamation, proroguing the parliament, it met on the 1st day of January; and it was determined to make "the Riding" as splendid as possible. Accordingly the streets were cleared of all obstructions, and a lane formed in the centre by railings. Military were stationed outside of these, consisting of both horse and foot, from the palace to the Parliament-house. The guards of the Earl of Erroll, as lord high-constable, formed a second lane, from the military in the High-street to the door of the Parliament-house. Again the earl marshal's guards formed a third lane from the outer door to the bar of the house. The Earl of Erroll sat in a chair of state at the door, and received the royal commissioner. The officers of state rode in the procession in their official robes. The lord-lyon king-at-arms, and the heralds in their tabrets, called over the roll from a window

in the palace. After which the procession moved
in the following order :—

	Two trumpets, in coats and banners, bare-headed, riding ;	
	Two pursuivants, in coats and foot-mantles, riding ;	
	Sixty-three commissioners for burghs on horseback, covered, two and two, each having a lacquey attending on foot, the odd member walking alone ;	
	Seventy-seven commissioners for shires, on horseback, covered, two and two, each having two lacqueys attending on foot ;	
	Fifty-one lords barons, in their robes, riding two and two ; each having a gentleman to support his train, and three lacqueys on foot, wearing, above their liveries, velvet surtouts, with the arms of their respective lords,	
	On the breast and back, embossed in plate, or embroidered with gold and silver ;	
	Nineteen viscounts, as the former ;	
	Sixty earls, as the former, four lacqueys attending on each ;	
	Four trumpets, two and two ;	
	Four pursuivants, two and two ;	
	And six heralds, two and two, bare-headed ;	
	Lord-lyon, king-at-arms, in his coat, robe, chain, baton, and foot-mantle ;	
	Sword of State, borne by the Earl of Mar ;	
	The Sceptre, by the Earl of Sutherland ;	
	THE CROWN, borne by the Earl of Crawford ;	
Three Maces.		Three Maces.

Duke of Hamilton,
covered.

The Purse and Commission, by the
Earl of Morton ;
THE EARL OF MIDDLETON, LORD HIGH-
COMMISSIONER,
with his servants, pages,
and footmen ;
Four dukes, two and two ;
Gentlemen bearing their trains, and each having
eight lacqueys ;
Six marquises, each having six lacqueys ;
Captain of the Horse-Guards ;
The Horse-Guards.

Marquis of Montrose,
covered.

At the door of the Parliament-house, the commissioner was received by the lord high-constable, and by him conducted to the earl marshal, between whom his grace, ushered by the lord high-chancellor, was conveyed to the throne. When the parliament rose, the procession returned to Holyrood-house in nearly the same order, where the lord-commissioner magnificently entertained the nobility and members at dinner. The Earl of Athole, as cup-bearer, served the lord-commissioner with wine on his knee.

Mr. Wodrow says, that Douglass preached before the parliament ; but there is a letter extant * in Lauderdale's hand-writing, dated 24th of January 1661, addressed, " For my reverend and worthy friend Mr. James Sharp, his Majesty's chaplain in his kingdom of Scotland." In which

* MSS. Episcopal Chest, Aberdeen, A. 2.

he “ thanks him for his sermon preached before the parliament, and desires a printed copy of it for the king, and one at least for himself.” From which it would appear, that it was Mr. Sharp, as the king’s chaplain, that had preached the sermon. The business of parliament commenced on the 4th of January ; and the commissioner recommended peace, unity, and concord ; but avoided all mention of the Solemn League and Covenant. In the palmy days of its supremacy, it was enacted, that all members of parliament at taking their seats, should “ take and subscribe the national Covenant, and give an oath in parliament relative thereunto.” Parliament now dispensed with this obligation, and their first enactment was an oath of allegiance and abjuration, to be taken by all the members and officers in his majesty’s service : as follows :—

“ I, N. N., for testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious and redoubted sovereign, Charles, &c.—do affirm, testify, and declare, by this my solemn oath, that I acknowledge my said sovereign only supreme governor of this kingdom over all persons and in all causes ; and that no foreign prince, power or state, nor person civil nor ecclesiastic, hath any jurisdiction, power, or superiority over the same : and therefore I utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, and authorities ; and shall at my utmost power defend, assist, and maintain his majesty’s jurisdiction aforesaid, against all deadly, and never decline his majesty’s power or jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God.”

Members of Parliament were to add the following clause :—

“ And I shall faithfully give my advice and vote in every thing that shall be propounded in parliament, as I shall answer to God.”

One would imagine that no loyal man would refuse this oath, or find any dangerous ambiguity under it ; yet it has been accused of the most enormous profligacy, and of making the king a pope in the church, and of course a tyrant in the state. All the members agreed to and subscribed the foregoing oath without any scruples, except the Earls of Cassilis and Melville, and the Laird of Kilburny. On the 8th of January, the commissioner moved, that the business of parliament should proceed in the ancient way, by the lords of the articles. Twelve noblemen, twelve barons, and twelve burgesses, with the officers of state were then chosen, and authorised to hear all matters presented to them ; to receive proof of what they found relevant, and report to the parliament twice a week.

The second act recognises and establishes “ his majesty’s prerogative to choose officers of state, counsellors and lords of session,” and justly declares “ the contrary laws and practices and acts since 1637, to have been undutiful and disloyal.” The parliament of 1641, composed of disloyal men, and acting under the influence of

the Covenant, took away from the king the power of nominating his ministers and judges. This act therefore declares, that the power of nominating them, is “part of the king’s royal prerogative.” In order to condemn that fundamental treason, which taught that the king was subject to his people, as deriving his power from them, this act, therefore, fully recognises and declares “that our kings hold their royal power over this kingdom from God.” Their third act recognises and asserts the king’s undoubted prerogative, as exercised without challenge at the present day—“to call, hold, prorogue or dissolve all parliaments, conventions, or meetings of estates;” and declares that, “all legislative meetings without his special warrant to be null and void.” The fourth act prohibited all conventions, leagues, or bonds, without the concurrence of the sovereign. The fifth act, recognises the king’s prerogative, and sole power in making peace or war. This act was rendered necessary by the late rebellion and the turbulent principles of the party who still adhered to the Covenant. It is the same in spirit and similarly worded to the English act of 12 Charles II. c. 6, which was purposely enacted against the traitorous principles engendered by the Solemn League and Covenant. It declares that the power of the sword is *solely* in the king; “and both or either of the houses of parliament cannot, nor ought to

pretend to the same; nor can, nor lawfully may raise, or levy any war, offensive or defensive, against his majesty, his heirs or lawful successors." The sixth act, declares the traitorous Convention of Estates in the year 1643, which united with the rebel Convention of England, in forcing the Solemn League and Covenant on that country, to be null and void. The seventh act, lays the axe to the root of all the evil of the preceding time of rebellion and usurpation—the Solemn League and Covenant, which had wrapt the three kingdoms in blood and anarchy :—

“ For as much as the power of arms, and entering into, and making of leagues and bonds, is an undoubted privilege of the crown, and a proper part of the royal prerogative of the kings of this kingdom, and that in recognisance of his majesty's just right, the estates of parliament of this his most ancient kingdom of Scotland, have declared it high-treason to the subjects thereof, of whatsoever number, less or more, upon any pretext whatsoever to rise, or continue in arms, or to enter into leagues or bonds with foreigners, or among themselves, without his majesty's special warrant and approbation had and obtained thereunto; and have rescinded and annulled all acts of parliament, conventions of estates, or other deeds whatsoever, contrary to, or inconsistent with the same. And whereas, during these troubles, there have occurred divers things, in the making and pursuance of leagues and bonds, which may be occasion of jealousy in and betwixt his majesty's dominions of Scotland, England, and Ireland; therefore, and for preventing of all scruples, mistakes, or jealousies that may hereafter arise upon that ground, the king's majesty, with advice and consent of his

estates of parliament, doth hereby declare, that there is no obligation upon this kingdom, by covenant, treaties, or otherwise, to endeavour by arms a reformation of religion in the kingdom of England, or to meddle with the public government, and administration of that kingdom. And the king's majesty, with consent and advice foresaid, doth declare, that the League and Covenant, and all treaties following thereupon, and acts or deeds, that do or may relate thereto, are not obligatory, nor do infer any obligation upon this kingdom, or the subjects thereof, to meddle or interpose by arms, or in any seditious way, in any thing concerning the religion and government of the churches of England and Ireland, or in what may concern the administration of his majesty's government there. And further, his majesty, with advice and consent of his estates, doth hereby discharge and inhibit all his majesty's subjects within this kingdom, that none of them presume, upon any pretext of any authority whatsoever, to require the renewing or swearing of the said League and Covenant, or of any other covenants or public oaths, concerning the government of the church or kingdom, without his majesty's special warrant and approbation; and that none of his majesty's subjects offer to renew and swear the same, without his majesty's warrant, as said is, as they will be answerable at their highest peril."

The eighth act was against seminary priests and jesuits, which it appears taking advantage, as they always do, of the disorders of the times, swarmed all over the kingdom in great abundance. They were the principal instigators of the late schisms and rebellion, and had been the chief instruments in the introduction and propagation of the Covenant. The ninth act approves of the

Duke of Hamilton's "engagement" in favour of Charles I. in 1648; but rescinds the ensuing measures of parliament and committees, as being the acts "of a few seditious ministers, who had then screwed themselves into the government." The tenth act, is against the Declaration of Scotland, 16th of January, 1647. The eleventh act, requires all public officers to take the oath of allegiance, and to acknowledge the royal prerogative. The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth acts are money-bills, and no ways connected with the church, and which we therefore pass over.

The fifteenth, however, is of more importance. All the meetings and conventions which had sat and enacted laws since the year 1633, up to the year 1660, had not only sat without the royal authority, but in defiance of it, and in opposition to it. In short, the parties were rebels, and their acts unauthorised and rebellious, under, as the act itself says, "the common pretext of *reformation*, the common cloak of all rebellions." This act, commonly called THE ACT RESCISSORY, repealed all the acts and ordinances of the rebel parliaments. Some of these Charles I. had summoned and presided in, and Charles II. had himself presided in that of 1651; but these sovereigns were at the time under duress, and were not free agents, and the proceedings of these unhappy times were forced upon them by the

power of successful rebels. This parliament, therefore, repealed them, as the ordinances of notorious rebels, as well as, on account of the force exercised on the sovereign, being null and void. Besides, even were that not the case, are our acts of parliament to be like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unrepealable? We daily see acts of parliament repealed, which have been very deliberately and legally framed, when it has been found that their working was either impracticable or injurious. Why, therefore, should not the enactments of notorious rebels be rescinded, when their operation was to distract the church and undermine the royal authority?

The sixteenth act established the Protestant catholic church as it subsisted in the time of James I. and Charles I. of blessed memory. It removed the controlling force, and restored the church to the same legal condition as before the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, which sacrilegiously decreed her utter extirpation. Those who unhappily approve of the proceedings of that assembly condemn this act, and have raised a horrible cry of persecution; but they choose to forget that the decisions of the Assembly of 1638 were much more summary, and had not even the semblance of law. They not only condemned the whole frame-work of the church, but *without* the royal,

or even parliamentary sanction, they rescinded all the acts of Assembly for the previous forty years, although they had been ratified by repeated acts of parliament. The Glasgow Assembly in 1638 deposed, and as far as they were able, excommunicated the bishops, as an antichristian corruption in the church. After bearing false witness against the moral character of the prelates of that day, "in forging, devising, inventing, and publishing a most infamous libel full of lies and calumnies," they enacted in the true popish style: "Therefore the Assembly, moved with zeal to the glory of God and purging of his kirk, hath ordained the saids *pretended* bishops to be deposed, and by these presents doth depose them, not only of the office of commissioners to vote in parliament, council, or convention in name of the kirk, but also of all functions, whether of the pretended episcopal or ministerial calling, *declareth them infamous*. And likewise ordaineth the saids pretended bishops to be excommunicate, and declared to be of those whom Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the faithful, as *ethnics and publicans*; and the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced by Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator, in the face of the Assembly, in the High Kirk of Glasgow; and the execution of the sentence to be intimate in all the kirks in

Scotland, by the pastors of every particular congregation.”* In this instance, an illegal assembly took upon itself to break up the whole constitution of the kingdom, by setting itself above, and repealing acts of parliament, and by removing one of the estates of parliament. So that the restoration of Episcopacy at this time, was only putting the church and the constitution of the kingdom on the same footing as it was before the illegal assembly of 1638, usurped the whole constitutional power of the kingdom, and extirpated the church without any form of law or authority. Parliament dealt more gently with the Presbyterians than that party have ever, in any of their successful revolutions, acted towards the Episcopalians. There were neither depositions nor excommunications, not even deprivations; but going on steadily towards the restoration of the church, they passed the following act concerning religion and church-government:—

“Our sovereign lord, being truly sensible of the mercies of Almighty God towards him, in his preservation in the times of greatest trouble and danger, and in his miraculous restitution to the just right and government of his kingdoms, and being desirous to improve these mercies to the glory of God, and the honour of his great name, doth, with advice and consent of his estates of parliament, declare, that it is his full and firm resolution to maintain the *true reformed*

* Act, Sess. 20, December 13, p. 18.

Protestant religion, in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within this kingdom, during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather of blessed memory : and that his majesty will be careful to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the exercises of religion, both public and private, and to suppress all profaneness and disorderly walking ; and for that end will give all due countenance and protection to the ministers of the gospel, they containing themselves within the bounds and limits of their ministerial calling, and behaving themselves with that submission and obedience to his majesty's authority and commands, that is suitable to the allegiance and duty of good subjects. And as to the government of the church, his majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the same, in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom. And, in the mean time, his majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, doth allow the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods, (they keeping within bounds, and behaving themselves as said is) and that notwithstanding of the preceding act rescissory of all pretended parliaments since the year 1638.

Sir George Mackenzie says, there were *only five* dissentient voices in parliament to this act, which restored the ancient church. It may therefore be considered as the unanimous desire of the nation, and this is confirmed by the petition to parliament of the synod of Aberdeen in favour of Episcopal government. It is therefore surprising that men of sense would adopt the outcry of a few disappointed men, and say, that Charles's letter to Douglass was ambiguous,

or that he oppressively forced Episcopacy on the nation. His parliament responded to his patriotic intention of restoring the breaches, both of the church and of the constitution, which had been made by the usurpers for the preceding twenty-five years. There was no sudden tyrannical act of mere power ; but the free, calm, and deliberate decision of the nation, by their representatives in parliament. They did not sweep away, with ruthless hand, the then existing Presbyterian government ; but allowed the Presbyteries to continue their meetings and maintain their jurisdiction till bishops, canonically consecrated and lawfully appointed, should reassume their apostolical government.

The seventeenth act of this parliament appointed the 29th of May, on which day Charles was restored to the throne of his fathers, to be kept as a perpetual holiday :—" which day, God Almighty hath specially honoured and rendered auspicious to this kingdom, both by his majesty's royal birth, and by his blessed restoration to his government, be for ever set apart as an holy day unto the Lord, and that in all the churches in the kingdom, it be employed in public prayers, preaching, thanksgiving, and praises to God for so transcendant mercies." This act, which shows that the legislators of those days were not so deficient of piety as our adversaries assert, was

one of the mighty grievances of the Covenanters. Wodrow has the charity to assert, that "it was evidently framed *to be a snare* unto ministers." In the beginning of our Reformation, during all Knox's life-time, the fasts and festivals of the church were regularly observed. From a copy of a bond or agreement made between the magistrates of Elgin and the parish schoolmaster of that city, in the year 1566, it appears that they bound him, under a penalty, not only to keep and observe all the *festivals* of the church himself, but to see that his pupils were regular in their attendance at the parish church on these occasions. So that, in fact, the Covenanters, and those who have followed their schism, have departed from the faith and the practice of Knox, and the early Scottish Reformers.

The next acts which bore on ecclesiastical affairs, were the 18th and 19th; the former for the due observance of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and the latter against swearing and excessive drinking. The 36th act, "anent presentation of ministers," requires more notice, inasmuch as it respects a subject which has kept the Presbyterian Establishment in a perpetual ferment ever since its enactment.

Before the Reformation, indeed ever since the establishment of Christianity in the kingdom,

patronage was in force. After the Reformation in 1560, there was no alteration made in this particular, but the law of patronage still continued. No minister was ever allowed to have a legal title to any church or benefice, unless he had a presentation from the patron, and collation from the superintendent or bishop, or from the presbytery, during the *eight* years from 1592 till the year 1600, in which the Presbyterian form prevailed. Patronage was the law and practice of the nation from the beginning of its Christianity till 1647, when, by divine permission, rebellion proved successful, the king's authority extinct, and the Covenant supreme. The cheat of popular election then became fashionable, and the Presbyterian ministers, among other illegal usurpations, took upon them the disposal of churches and benefices. In these elections the people have, in reality, no more power than under patrons; and ministers are as much imposed on them under this juggle, as by the lawful patron. At first, however, the sound of the name enchanted the people; in fact, this juggle was invented to draw their attention off more important designs. The party finding their strength increasing, pursued their design more effectually; and the illegal convention of two of the estates, without the royal authority, which called itself a parliament, in the year 1649, abolished pa-

tronage. "This act," says Mr. Willison, "is worthy to be written in letters of gold." Its enactment should also please the Voluntaries of the present day ; for it says, "and considering that patronages and presentations of kirks is an evil and bondage, under which the Lord's people and ministers of this land have long groaned, and that it hath no warrant in God's word, but is founded only in the common law, and is a custom popish, and brought into the kirk in time of ignorance and superstition ; that it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entry of ministers into their charges, therefore, &c." Now this act of this pretended parliament (but it does not even deserve that name, being deficient of the first estate, and in defiance of the king, who is the *caput*, *principium et finis* of parliaments) is the only pretence or shadow of law which had ever been in the Scottish church, for popular elections. It will not be disputed, but, that the removal of the rights of patrons, was a palpable encroachment upon their privileges, and a trampling on the laws of the kingdom. Accordingly, when the government began to turn on its proper hinges, it need not excite surprise, that such gross injustice and usurpation should be removed. And the thirty-sixth act of the first Parliament of Charles II. recognises the rights of patrons, as

if the illegal ordinances of 1649 had never been in existence. It is statute and ordained, "that all patrons shall be careful in time coming, to grant presentations only to such as shall give sufficient evidence of their piety, loyalty, literature, and peaceable disposition, and who, before they receive the presentation, shall take the oath of allegiance, &c. That the king's majesty had given a commission under the great seal as to all presentations, to all parsonages, vicarages and other benefices, and kirks, at his majesty's presentation." In this enactment, the treasonable Convention of 1649 is not so much as named, so little pretence had it to be called a parliament. It was a convention of rebels, who met without having been called by any lawful authority. Charles I. had just been murdered, and Charles II. was in exile, and he neither called this meeting nor had a representative in it, and perhaps, never knew of its existence till after its dissolution. Presbyterians complain that the restoration of patronages was one of the necessary appendages of Episcopacy; but it cannot escape observation, that though the rights of patrons were restored in 1661, yet the restitution of Episcopacy did not take place till the following year, 1662. Parliament considered patronage as still the law of the land, and would therefore have restored the rights of patrons, even if Episcopacy had never existed.

The party adhering to the Covenant were now sensible, from the proceedings of parliament, that it was the full intention of Charles to restore Episcopacy. The violent Protestors accordingly preached vehemently, and endeavoured to inflame the people's minds against the Episcopal order. "Up and down the country," says Wodrow, "many ministers warned their people fully and faithfully of the evils coming in, and the dangers the Church of Scotland (that is, the Protestor faction) was in hazard of, notwithstanding the severe act was published against ministers' freedom in preaching, by the Committee of Estates."* Some of the Protestors in the western counties kept congregational fasts, and others petitioned parliament against the Episcopal government. At a meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which has always been most attached to Presbyterianism and the Covenant, an attempt was made to petition against Episcopacy; but those favourable to that government, were successful in quashing the petitions, by carrying a motion for adjournment. They attempted to meet again for the same purpose in May, but were prohibited by proclamation. The Covenanting party met in a private house, and agreed on a petition, which Wodrow has recorded, and sent three of their number to present it to the commissioner. The

* Vol. i. p. 109.

Synod of Fife met for the purpose of petitioning at St. Andrews, but were dispersed by the Earl of Rothes, in the king's name. At Dumfries, the Earl of Queensbury dissolved a meeting of the Protestors, or Covenanters, as we shall henceforth call them. These men made an effort for the support of Presbytery and the Covenant, in the counties of Fife, Dumfries, Galloway, Ayr, and Lanark ; but in all the other parts of the kingdom, where the Resolutioners were predominant, Presbytery found few or no supporters. Such clergymen as opposed the violence of the Covenanters, are by Wodrow uncharitably described as "gaping after a bishopric." It appears to have been his opinion, that no man could be an Episcopalian from principle, but that all such were actuated by the most base, malignant and selfish motives. His invectives against Mr. Sharp are such as no man with a grain of charity would have uttered, especially as they are founded on falsehoods and misrepresentations. After his return from London, and the honourable testimony which the Presbytery of Edinburgh accorded to him, Mr. Sharp returned to Crail, and resumed his parochial duties, and does not again appear in public life till July of this year, when he was summoned to court by command of the king. But the party have accused him of having plotted and planned the entire measures which were carried

through parliament, and executed by the king's ministers, although he was all the time occupied in his parochial duties at Crail—as if he had been a man of such consequence, that he could make or mar at his pleasure, and mould cabinets and parliaments agreeable to his own ambition. Wodrow says, “Mr. James Sharp, and the noblemen who joined him about the king, under the patronage of Chancellor Hyde, and the English highfliers, began their designs of overturning the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland, by buzzing into the king's ear the wicked lie and scandalous misrepresentation, that the generality of the old, wise and learned ministers of the Church of Scotland were for Prelacy, at least a moderate Episcopacy.”* How the minister of Crail, living all the time at Crail, in the county of Fife, could have had so much influence at the king's ear, is rather singular. But it was necessary to blacken his character, in conformity with his instructions, and therefore honest Wodrow calculated more on the prejudices, than on the reasoning faculties of his readers. He forgets also that Douglass asserted in one of his letters, that not only all the “old, wise, and learned ministers” were favourable to Episcopacy, but the generality of the nation, that is, as I take it, the

* Vol. i. p. 214.

people, fed themselves with the hope and expectation of it. He describes Mr. Sharp as cunning, bribed, and gaping after the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. He also accuses him of having bribed a few *lax men* in the north, to send up a flattering address from Aberdeen, in favour of Episcopacy. He is generally very copious in documents; but this petition, the voluntary and unanimous act of that extensive synod in favour of Episcopacy, he has not recorded; but, as it had considerable influence in Charles's council, it is here inserted. It was agreed to in a full meeting of the Synod of Aberdeen, and is signed by *fifty-three* parish ministers; there was not a dissenting voice in the synod, and it does them honour.

“ To his Grace his Majesty's High Commissioner, and the High Court of Parliament :

“ The humble Address of the Synod of Aberdeen :—

“ The various dispensations wherewith the righteous and wise Lord of heaven and earth hath been exercising us these many years by-gone, cries aloud to all the subjects of Scotland, who have not laid aside all sense of sin and duty, to reflect seriously upon the public transactions of this church and nation; especially upon the deportment thereof to the king and the royal authority; and while the Lord is pleased to fix such thoughts upon our spirits, we cannot, unless we would blindfold our own consciences, stop the mouth thereof, hide our sin in our bosom with Adam, and keep fast deceit under our tongue, but give glory to God in an humble and ingenuous confession, as of the national guiltiness of Scotland, so

of our own iniquity, in so far as we have been any way accessory to these sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs, which have been put upon the royal authority, whether during the reign of our late most gracious sovereign, that blessed martyr Charles I., or since his horrid murder, to our gracious king, who now, in the Lord's most wonderful and gracious Providence, reigns over us ; and particularly, we acknowledge these sad and grievous sins to be lying on the land, and upon us, according to the several degrees and measures of our accession, whether driven thereto by force and violence of a prevailing party, through human weakness in that hour of temptation; or by sinful silence and want of courage to have pleaded against such courses; viz. the rising in arms against the king; the preaching up the lawfulness of defensive arms by subjects against the supreme magistrate, which is contrary to scripture, to all sound antiquity, to the constant practice of the ancient primitive church, to the judgment of all sound orthodox divines, contrary to our national (Knox's) Confession of Faith, and to the oath of allegiance : popular reformation without, much more against the king's consent and authority: the assisting the king's enemies, by joining our forces with them, while as they were in rebellion against their sovereign lord and master: the preaching down the king's cause and interest, and preaching up the interest of his enemies: the giving out a paper called ' A Seasonable Warning for delivering up the King at Newcastle,' and that without any assurances, either by writing or pledges for his majesty's security, safety, honour, and freedom ; although there was no sufficient hostage in that land to have been given for his sacred person—the preaching against the intended relief of his majesty of precious memory, when he was a suffering prisoner in the Isle of Wight, in 1648, where he was detained till at last these usurpers brought him to that fatal block—the putting unjust limitations and restrictions on our gracious king, who now

reigns over us by God's blessing (in despite of all open and veiled enemies, who of late have put on the robe of loyalty) before he was admitted to the exercise of his royal power—the indignities which were put upon his sacred majesty by a factious and treacherous party, in that infamous and treasonable Remonstrance—the opposing of the public Resolutions, both of king, church, and state, by that party (the Protestor's) for the most just and necessary defence of king, religion, honour, and all which was dear to men and Christians, the land being invaded, and one half thereof being possessed by an army of sectaries, who by force and fraud had enslaved their own native country, that ancient and famous kingdom of England. And although these sins of the Remonstrance, opposing of, and protesting against the public Resolutions, be not a national guiltiness, both the one and the other being testified against and condemned by the generality of the state, church, and country; yet these being the guiltiness of a party in the nation, we could not omit them as matters of just provocation against God Almighty—the excluding the king's interest out of the state of the quarrel betwixt his majesty's own army and that usurper and tyrant, Oliver Cromwell, by that infamous Act of the West Kirk—the forcing of the king's majesty, being then in their power, rather as a noble prisoner than as a free king, sore against his royal will, to subscribe 'Declarations' against himself and his royal family—the little sympathy with his majesty in his sufferings abroad, the sinful neglect of duty, for fear of men, in not praying for him in public—sinful silence in not preaching absolutely against the usurpers—too much, at least, passive compliance with them, sitting down like Issachar, under the burthen, and being like Ephraim, a silly dove without a heart. For these, and sins of a like nature, done against the royal authority, God, in his justice and wisdom, brought and kept us long under a sad captivity and bondage. And have not all the land, and we according

unto the measure of our accession, more nor (than) reason to confess guiltiness before God, men, and angels, and to entreat earnestly for mercy therefor, at the throne of grace? And now, since it hath pleased the eternal God, by whom king's reign, to bring back our native king, and settle him upon his royal ancestors' throne, for which we shall desire to bless the Lord while we live, we conceive that upon this signal mercy, God calls upon us to engage, like as we hourly do in the strength of God engage ourselves, never to be accessory to any disloyal principle or practice, but declare our utter abhorrence thereof, and of every thing which may have any tendency that way; obliging not only ourselves to subjection, obedience, and submission to the royal authority and commands, but also to preach loyalty, subjection, obedience, and submission, and to press the same from the Word of God, and according thereto, upon all his majesty's subjects under our ministry; and that it is sinful and ungodly for subjects to resist the king's authority; but that in case of dissatisfaction in any command by his majesty, it is their duty to suffer.

“And because it hath pleased the king's majesty and his high court of parliament, for the over-reaching of many ministers in Scotland, their outstretching of Presbyterial government, by making it run in an eccentric line, in meddling with civil concernments, and topping with the supreme authority, and upon other grave considerations known to themselves, which becomes not us to search into, to take away and rescind the laws and acts of parliament, whereby the government of this church had any civil authority. That it would please the king's commissioners' grace and the high court of parliament to join with us in this our earnest petition, and to transmit the same to his sacred majesty, that he will allow us to be still under his majesty's protection, and that he may be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to settle the government of this rent church, according to the word of

God, and the practice of the ancient primitive church, in such a way as may be most consistent with the royal authority, may conduce most for godliness, unity, peace, and order, for a learned, godly, peaceable, and loyal ministry, and most apt to preserve the peace of the three nations. For doing whereof we shall be earnest to supplicate God, in his majesty's behalf, for wisdom, counsel, and direction.

“ We have conceived this emission to be a duty lying upon us, in reference to God, to the king, to this church and land, and for the exonerating of our own consciences before the world. And although this has been our principal motive ; yet it hath been no small encouragement to this synod, that we have been put in remembrance by that noble and worthy lord, the earl marshal, in his letter to the Assembly to this effect ; and for which the synod renders his lordship hearty thanks, considering that he having so great influence in this corner of the land, may be very instrumental for advancing religion, justice, and loyalty here. And this paper we have ordained to be registered in our synod books, *ad futuram rei memoriam* : and in testimony of our unanimity herein, we have all subscribed it with our hands, at King's College, at Aberdeen, the 18th of April, 1661 years.”

The parliament sat till the 12th of July, on which day their acts were read by the proper officers, and with the usual solemnities, at the Cross. “ It is but doing justice,” says Guthrie, “ to Charles and his ministers to say that they applied themselves with great assiduity, and with *no little impartiality*, to restore the forms of the constitution, which had been so long abrogated. Even the Earl of Cassilis was named to be an extraordinary lord of session ; but was found to

be disqualified by refusing the oath of supremacy."* Hitherto, since the Restoration, the government had been placed in the hands of a Committee of Estates ; but henceforward the executive power was committed to the privy council. It possessed the whole powers of government, and in the intervals of parliament, sometimes assumed its powers also ; but it always assumed the privilege of explaining the intention or meaning of acts of parliament, because the acts of the Scottish parliament chiefly, if not altogether, emanated from the crown, through the lords of the articles, and therefore the government best knew the meaning in which they had been enacted. Immediately after the prorogation, the Earl of Middleton went to London, to lay before the king an account of his proceedings in parliament, and the state of the nation. In April, Glencairn, the chancellor, and Rothes, president of the council, carried up a dutiful letter from the parliament to the king ; and soon after Charles summoned Messieurs Sharp and Douglass to repair to court ; but the latter excused himself on account of his age and infirmities. At this period Charles appears to have been extremely popular. "Meantime," says Kirkton, "the king's character stood so high in the opinion and

* Gen. History, vol. x. p. 93.

idolatrous affections of the miserable people of Scotland, that a man might have more safely blasphemed Jesus Christ, than derogate in the least from the glory of his (the king's) perfections." And Douglass himself, in a letter to Sharp, dated 9th of June, 1660, says, "He is gifted to his people, in return of their prayers, and their expectations are fixed on him, *as the man of God's right hand*, who will refresh the hearts of all the lovers of Zion."

The sixteenth act states his majesty's design to maintain the Protestant church, as it existed during the reigns of his father and grandfather. It likewise recognised his right to order the *external* government of the church, and the nomination of the persons who were to be its governors. On consultation with his Scottish privy council at London, he nominated Mr. Sharp to be archbishop of St. Andrews. "The king having, by singular acts of goodness, restored Scotland to her rights and laws, consulted only Scotsmen on Scottish affairs; and not only motioned but was positive, that as the government of the state was monarchy, so that of the church should be prelacy. And in a council, held at Whitehall, nominated Mr. Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews. This was agreed to by all present,

* Kirkton's History, p. 132.

except the Earl of Lauderdale, who openly entered his dissent, and coming out, met Mr. Sharp, walking with the Earl of Stirling, to whom, with an austere voice and threatening gesture, he expressed these words:—‘ Mr. Sharp, bishops you are to have in Scotland ; and you are to be archbishop of St. Andrews ; but whoever shall be the man, I will smite him and his order below the fifth rib ;’ and his lordship was indeed as good as his word in many subsequent instances.”* The address in favour of Episcopacy, from the synod of Aberdeen, justly carried considerable weight with the council ; and the commissioners assured the king that the Resolutioners, who composed the greater part of the nation, earnestly desired it. The Protestors alone were opposed to it, from their attachment to the Covenant. “ The differences between the Resolutioners and the Remonstrators (Protestors or Covenanters) facilitated the introduction of not only prelacy, but an arbitrary power ; and two parties were formed in the cabinet, the one headed by Middleton, the other by Lauderdale, which suspended for some time the miserable effects of the latter. Lauderdale, though one of the worst and most unprincipled men of the age, would have willingly preserved Presbyterianism in Scotland,

* True and Impartial Account, p. 54.

because it would have given him a great sway among all the subjects of that persuasion. Middleton, who knew himself to be hated by Lauderdale, was a furious friend to Episcopacy, that he might strengthen his own authority by that of the bishops ; and went into the hierarchical notions of Hyde and the English prelates. The third party, which was headed by Glencairn, and was composed of the best and most moderate men of property, thought that prelacy was absolutely necessary for preventing the return of the disorders which the nation had lately suffered from the Covenanters ; but they were for a moderate Episcopacy, such as had taken place during the reign of James I. ; and secretly imagined that they had numbers and interest sufficient to bring about such an establishment. I never have seen any plan of this kind ; nor do I know if any such was reduced into writing ; but that they had such views is incontestable, from the following well-attested incident. When Lauderdale saw that the prelatical part of the English council were resolved upon the restoration of bishops in Scotland, he fell in with their views as warmly as Middleton himself had done. This astonished Glencairn, who knew Lauderdale to be a violent Presbyterian by profession. He asked Glencairn, whether he himself was not for bishops ; ‘ Yes, my lord, (replied the other,) but you mistake my

conduct in that affair. I am not for lordly prelates such as were in Scotland before the Reformation ; but for a limited, sober, moderate Episcopacy.' ' My lord,' replied the other, with an oath, ' since you are for bishops, and must have them, bishops you shall have, and higher than ever they were in Scotland, and that you will find.' The Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Crawford endeavoured still to make some opposition in council ; but the administration by one bold stroke put an end to all further hesitation on that head."*

Almost every author who has recorded the transactions of this period, mentions the threat uttered by Lauderdale, and his sudden conversion to the policy of supporting Episcopacy. But there is a paper in the " Episcopal chest," among the transactions of the year 1670, which shows that he was in earnest in his support of the Established Church.† The Earl of Tweeddale, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Robert Murray, and Bishop Leighton, had formed a design quietly to subvert Episcopacy, and establish Presbytery, under an Erastian regulation. For this purpose they drew up a set of regulations, by which the bishops were to be deprived

* Guthrie's Gen. History, vol. x. p. 95, 96.


† MSS. Episcopal Chest, b. 4.

of their negative voice and controul over the Presbyteries. The conspirators above named beset Lauderdale, who easily saw the plot and its design; but his firmness, and the cordial co-operation of the king, warded off this insidious blow, as will be seen at its proper place. If the fifth-ribbed story be true, we must conclude that his opposition gave way to his better and more matured judgment. His conduct is often very suspicious, yet this well-authenticated fact must clear him of the odium of treachery, which has so long been connected with his name. But Lauderdale's opposition was not to the *thing itself*, but only to the expediency of such a sudden change, as Middleton and others wished to make at that time.

In prosecution of that in which Charles seems to have been perfectly sincere, he issued a preparatory proclamation, dated the 10th of June, in which he acknowledges the power and goodness of God—

“ By His outstretched arm, wonderfully to bring us back in peace, to the exercise of our royal government, we did apply ourselves to the restoring of our kingdoms to that liberty and happiness which they enjoyed under the government of our royal ancestors; and whereas, our parliament, by their act the 29th March, hath declared that it is our full and firm resolution to maintain the true Protestant religion, in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within that our kingdom during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather, of blessed memory; and that we will be careful to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the exercises of religion, both public and private, and to suppress all pro-


faneness and disorderly walking ; and for that end will give all due countenance and protection to the ministers of the gospel, they containing themselves within the bounds and limits of their ministerial calling, and behaving themselves with that submission and obedience to our authority and commands, that is suitable to the allegiance and duty of good subjects. And as to the government of the church, that we will make it our care to settle and secure the same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom : and in the meantime, that we do allow the present administration by sessions, Presbyteries and synods (they keeping themselves within bounds, and behaving themselves as said is,) and that notwithstanding of the act passed that day, rescissory of all pretended parliaments since the year 1638. Therefore, we have thought fit by this our proclamation, not only to declare our gracious acceptance of these ample testimonies of the duty and affection of that our parliament, by which the world may take notice how unanimously loyal that kingdom is, and how hearty in our service, of which we ourselves were ever confident ; but also to make known our firm resolution to maintain and preserve that our kingdom in their just liberties : and likewise to make good what our parliament have declared in our name, as to matters of religion. And considering how much our interest, and the quiet of that kingdom, is concerned in the right settlement and peace of that our church, which through the confusions of these latter times, hath been much discomposed, we do purpose, after mature deliberation with such as we shall call, to employ our royal authority, for settling and securing the government, and the administration thereof, in such a way as may best conduce to the glory of God, to the good of religion, to unity, order, and to the public peace and satisfaction of our kingdom."



Towards the end of August, Mr. Sharp returned to Edinburgh, empowered to offer preferment to Mr. Douglass and some others, whom the king, from personal recollection, had himself selected. On the return of Glencairn and Rothes, they presented a letter from the king to the privy council, dated the 14th of August, as follows:—

“ CHARLES, R.

“ Right trusty and well-beloved cousins and councillors, we greet you well. Whereas, in the month of August, 1660, we did, by our letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland, settled by law; and our parliament having since that time, not only rescinded all the acts since the troubles began, referring to that government, but also declared all those pretended parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing of church-government; therefore, in compliance with that act rescissory, according to our late proclamation, dated at Whitehall, the 10th of June, and in contemplation of the inconveniences from the church-government, as it hath been exercised these twenty-three years past, of the unsuitableness thereof to our monarchical estate, of the sadly experienced confusions which have been caused during the late troubles, by the violences done to our royal prerogative, and to the government civil and ecclesiastical, settled by unquestionable authority, we, from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interests of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that church, and its better harmony with the churches of England and Ireland, have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our council here, our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that



church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather, of blessed memory, and as it *now* stands settled by law. Of this, our royal pleasure concerning church-government, you are to take notice, and to make intimation thereof in such way and manner as you shall judge most expedient and effectual. And we require you and every one of you, and do expect, according to the trust and confidence we have in your affections and duty to our service, that you will be careful to use your best endeavours for curing the distempers contracted during those late evil times, for uniting our good subjects among themselves, and bringing them all to a cheerful acquiescing and obedience to our sovereign authority, which we will employ, by the help of God, for the maintaining and defending the true reformed religion, increase of piety, and the settlement and security of that church in her rights and liberties, according to law and ancient custom. And in order thereunto, our will is, that you forthwith take such course with the rents belonging to the several bishoprics and deaneries, that they may be restored and made useful to the church, and that according to justice and the standing law. And moreover, you are to inhibit the assembling of ministers, in their several synodical meetings through the kingdom, until our further pleasure, and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretext whatsoever, shall by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular or unlawful way, endeavour to alienate the affections of our people, or dispose them to an ill opinion of us and our government, to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom. So expecting your cheerful obedience, and a speedy account of your proceedings herein, we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, August 14, 1661, and of our reign the thirteenth year. By his majesty's command,

(Signed) “ Lauderdale.”

Peter Wedderburn, the clerk of council, was ordered to draw up an act of council, in conformity with the above letter. It is a mere echo of the king's letter, and need not be again repeated. On the 6th of September, accordingly, it was printed and published. On the same day, it was proclaimed at the Cross with great solemnity, by the lion king-at-arms, with a great assemblage of heralds and pursuivants, in their tabarts, and six trumpets. To give eclat to this proclamation, the lord provost, magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh were present, in their robes, with their mace and officers. The unanimity of parliament speaks loudly that the popular feeling was in favour of the restoration of the church. The malicious perversions of some authors have so impregnated the greater part of our historians with prejudice, that the truth will scarcely be believed. But Nicol, who lived at the time, and spoke the sentiments of the majority, shows that the people were rejoiced at the restoration of their ancient church.

“ Now,” says he, “ let the reader stay a little, and consider the change of the time, and the Lord's wonderful works, and dispensation therein, and to call to mind the days of old ; that is, that in November, 1638, and in October, 1639, the Covenant was solemnly sworn and ratified in several general assemblies and parliaments. Likewise the League and Covenant was sworn and subscribed in October, 1643, and ratified and approved by sundry acts of parliament,

wherein the hail archbishops and bishops of Scotland, by the acts of the Assembly were deposed, and eight of them excommunicated, as alleged troublers of the peace of the kirk and kingdom, in bringing in the Service Book, Book of Canons, establishing a tyrannical power over the kirk; for establishing the articles of Perth, for observation of festival days, for kneeling at the communion, for administration of the communion in private places, for change of the government of the kirk; for their sitting in council, session and exchequer; for their riding, sitting and voicing in parliament; for sitting on the bench as justices of the peace; for their keeping and authorising corrupt assemblies at Linlithgow, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews and Perth; for restraining of free general assemblies; and for sundry more causes, specified and expressed in the acts of general assemblies and acts of parliament: for which they were *extirpated*, deposed, and eight of them excommunicated, and lying under the sentence of excommunication ever since; but now received and taken in as governors of the kirk, wherein a great change and alteration may be seen in a few years."

"But now," he continues, "since it has pleased his majesty, with advice of the honourable lords of his highness's privy council, to restore bishops to the government of the church in Scotland, as is now declared by the former proclamation, our prayers and supplications shall be to the great Lord of heaven, to bless his majesty with many and happy days, to be a nurse-father to his church, and to make choice of pious and modest men for that government; and that the Lord would endue them (the bishops) with the spirit of their callings and high functions of the ministry whereunto they are called to the glory of his holy name, and profit of this poor kirk and kingdom."*

* John Nicol's Diary of Transactions in Scotland. Printed for the Bannatync club, 4to. pp. 342. 343.

In the plenitude of his zeal for the Covenant, Mr. Wodrow says, that the restoration of the church in this kingdom “*was INIQUITY established by law.*”^{*} And Dr. M'Crie, in a lugubrious strain is obliged to admit that the re-establishment of the church was an act *agreeable* to the great body of the people. “*The great body of the people,*” says he, “through the land, gave that proof of their compliance with the late changes which the parliament had required, by attending the ministrations of the prelatical incumbents or curates.”[†] We have also the respectable authority of Mr. Douglass, “that the *generality* of this new upstart generation have *no love* to Presbyterian government; but are *wearied of that yoke*, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy.” And even of Wodrow himself, who further alleges that “When the law, such as it was, had made way for the prelates, *solicitations* began apace for bishoprics. No great disliker of the prelacy observes ‘in September and October this year, *many* of the ministers were seeking after the Episcopal dignity.’”[‡]

“Towards the latter end of August,” says the author of the True and Impartial Account, “Mr.

* Vol. i. p. 233.

† Testimony of the Ass. Syn. of Orig. Seceders, p. 31.

‡ Vol. i. p. 235.

Sharp came to Edinburgh, and had instructions and offers from the king to some of the most loyal and leading of the preachers, particularly Mr. Robert Douglass; who indeed declined to comply with Episcopacy, but with no less modesty than charity, said to Mr. Sharp:—"Brother, I render to his majesty a thousand thanks, but I have dipt so far in oaths, and the concerns of the late troubles, and particularly in my sermon before the king at his coronation; and now being turned aged and infirm, I want strength to sustain the weight of the office, and the difficulties which I should be obliged to encounter. But if you can comply, who are young, and lay not under the same engagements, I neither can nor will blame you." And really this wise man's temper was so moderate and Christian, that he was a constant hearer of the Episcopal ministers, and received the sacrament from their hands, till an Indulgence ensued, which he thought absolved him from that necessity.* From the general character given of Mr. Douglass, we should think that the above account was correct; but Kirkton gives another version of this interview, not very creditable either to his own charity or to Mr. Douglass's modesty. "Then," says he, "followed the time of soliciting at court for prefer-

* True and Impartial Account, p. 54, 55.

ment, to those who aspired to the bishoprics, where greatest friendship made the bishop. In the meantime, Mr. Sharp makes (*for the fashion*) a visit to Mr. Robert Douglass, at his own house, when, after his preface, he informed him it was the king's purpose to settle the church under bishops, and that for respect to him his majesty was very desirous Mr. Douglass would accept the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Mr. Douglass answered, he would have nothing to do with it; (for in his private conversation he used neither to harangue nor dispute.) Sharp insisted and urged him; Mr. Douglass answered as formerly: whereupon Sharp arose and took his leave. Mr. Douglass convoyed him to his gallery door; and after he had passed the door, Mr. Douglass called him back, and told him, 'James,' said he, 'I see you will engage, I perceive you are clear, you will be bishop of St. Andrews: take it, and the curse of God go with it.' So clapping him upon the shoulder, he shut the door upon him."*

Kirkton, and after him, in slavish imitation, Wodrow, gives a list of the gentlemen who had been selected for the vacant bishoprics. The characters which these two authors give of the primary bishops of the present church in Scotland, is such as no man with a grain of sense

* Kirkton's History, p. 134, 135.

would give the slightest credence. While they were acting as Presbyterian ministers, they were esteemed by their brethren excellent godly men—the salt of the earth; but no sooner did they accept the Episcopal dignity than it was immediately discovered that they were atheists—drunkards—adulterers—infanticides—gamblers—blasphemers—avaricious—ambitious—changelings—time servers—and secret Papists! Had they continued to rave against Episcopacy these sins would never have been laid to their charge, even although they had been actually guilty of them. But they committed the unpardonable sin, of which the “generality of the new upstart generation” were guilty, of desiring a moderate Episcopacy, and therefore agreeable to Wodrow’s instructions and the tactics of the party, their memories must be reviled, and a railing accusation brought against them. It is to be hoped that the “accusers of the brethren” knew not what they did, and that therefore they will be forgiven; but certainly they knew not of what spirit they were of.

In October, Messrs. Sharp, Fairfowl, and Hamilton, were summoned to London: Mr. Leighton was in that city at the time. These were nominated by the king, to the sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Dumblain. Andrew Fairfowl was born in Anstruther, and first was

chaplain to the Earl of Rothes, next minister of Leith, and at the time of his elevation was minister of Dunse. When Charles was in Scotland in 1650, he heard him preach, and now, without any solicitation selected him for the see of Glasgow. James Hamilton was the second son of Sir John Hamilton, of Broomhill, and brother of the first Lord Belhaven. He was ordained by Lindsey, Archbishop of Glasgow, and served the cure of Cambusnethan, from 1634, till the Restoration, when he was consecrated to the see of Galloway. He was summoned to London by the following letter :—

“ CHARLES R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, we have given order to our council to intimate our pleasure concerning the settlement of the church by bishops, as it was in the reigns of our grandfather and father of blessed memory. These are therefore to require you to repair to London with all the speed you conveniently can, where you shall receive our further pleasure. You are to obey such directions concerning the time of your journey, as shall be given you by our chancellor and president of our council. So expecting your ready obedience, we bid you farewell. Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 14th day of August, 1661, and of our reign, the thirteenth year.

“ By his majesty's command.

“ Lauderdale.”

Robert Leighton is better known as the son of the famous puritan, the author of “ Zion's Plea.”

On his father's disgrace and punishment, he returned to Scotland, and was settled minister at Newbottle, in Mid Lothian. He had never been very hearty in his support of the Covenant ; but chose rather to preach Christ crucified. The fame of his piety and learning procured for him the chair of divinity in the university of Edinburgh in the year 1653.*

These gentlemen went to London. " The king's majestie," says Nicol, " having stedfastlie resolvit to promote the estait, power, and dignitie of bischops, and to remove all impedimentis contrary thaireto ; it thaerfoir pleasit the lordis of secreit counsell in Scotland to give furth and emit this act and proclamation following :"—

" Act of Council ordering presentation of ministers to be directed to bishops.

" Edinburgh, 12th December, 1661.—Forasmuch as by an act of privy council, of the date 6th day of September last, his majesty's royal pleasure to restore the church of this kingdom to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of his majesty's royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law, was made known to all the subjects of this kingdom, by open proclamation, at the market-crosses of all burghs royal ; and as it is statute by the first act of the twenty-one parliament of James VI. that all presentations to benefices should be directed thereafter to the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, within the bounds whereof any vacant

* Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, pp. 281, 266, 267.

church lieth ; so that their restitution to their former dignities, privileges and powers settled upon them by law and acts of parliament, no minister within this kingdom should be admitted to any benefice but upon presentation directed as said is ; and yet notwithstanding thereof, it is informed that upon presentations directed to Presbyteries, they do daily proceed to admit ministers to kirks and benefices, albeit the archbishops and bishops are restored to their dignities, some of them already consecrated, and all of them within a very short time will be invested in their rights and benefices, and empowered to receive presentations and grant admissions thereupon. Therefore, the lords of his majesty's privy council prohibit, and by these presents, discharge all patrons to direct any presentation to any Presbyteries ; as also discharge all and sundry the Presbyteries within this kingdom, to proceed to the admission of any minister to any benefice or kirk within their respective bounds, upon any such presentations, as they shall be answerable with certification, that if they do otherwise the said presentation and admission shall be void and null, as if they had never been granted, and ordain these presents to be printed and published at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and other places needful, that none pretend ignorance.

“ sic subscr.”

“ Pet. Wedderburn,
Cl. sti Concilii.”

The Covenanters had the gratification of seeing their oath for the *extirpation of Episcopacy* so far fulfilled, that only one of the whole Scottish bench, which consisted of fourteen prelates, survived. Dr. Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, was

* Nichol's Diary, pp. 353, 354.

the only one who was permitted to see the restoration of the ark of God. The general rule requires three bishops to concur in the consecration of another; for, according to the canons of the universal church, one bishop cannot, except in a case of the most urgent necessity, consecrate another. The first of the apostolical canons says, "Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops; a Presbyter by one, likewise a deacon." Charles, therefore, followed his grandfather's example, and summoned the four gentlemen above mentioned to London, that they might be canonically consecrated to the office of bishops. "Episcopal ordination" being, says Kirkton, "a flower not to be found in a Scottish garden."—"But first, there was a question to be answered, and that was, whether they were to be re-ordained Presbyters, yea or no? Sharp desired they might be excused, and that their Presbyterian ordination might be sustained. Episcopal they could not have; and the former English bishops had sustained Spottiswood's Presbyterian ordination in the year 1610; but Sheldon was peremptory—either they must renounce their old Presbyterian ordination, or miss their expected Episcopal coronation; so they were content rather to deny themselves to be Presbyters, than not to be received bishops; and when they consented, Sheldon told Sharp that it was the

Scottish fashion to scruple at every thing, and swallow any thing. But with a great process of change of vestments, offices, prayers, bowing to the altar, and kneeling at the communion, they were re-ordained Presbyters, and consecrated bishops, both in one day, and this was a preface to a fat Episcopal banquet, and so their work ended. This was done December, 1661.*

Wodrow, in the printed history, gives the same account in nearly the same words; but in his "Analecta," he relates a hearsay story, as follows:—"January, 1707. This day Mr. James Webster told that his author had this account from Bishop Hamilton: that after the Restoration, Sharp, Leighton, Hamilton, and Fairfowl, four of them, were at London; and that there were only two of them that were re-ordained, that were Sharp and Leighton: that when Sharp got the gift of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews from the king, he came to Juxon,† Bishop of London, with the orders; and who says, that is very good, but Mr. Sharp, where are your orders? You must be re-ordained Presbyter, before you can be consecrate bishop. He said he behoved to consult with his brethren, and re-

* Kirkton's Hist. p. 137.

† It should be "Sheldon;" Dr. Juxon was Archbishop of Canterbury.

turned and told them that they behoved to be re-ordained. Mr. Hamilton and the others said, that they were ordained before the thirty-eight, by bishops. Mr. Leighton said, I will yield, (although) I am persuaded I was in orders before, and my ministrations were valid, and that they do it cumulative, and not privative; and although I should be ordained every year, I will submit.”*

Messrs. Fairfowl and Hamilton were already in priest's orders, having been ordained before the extirpation of the Episcopal order in the preceding reign. It is uncertain by whom Fairfowl was ordained, but Hamilton received his orders from Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, in 1634. The other two, however, had been made ministers by the Presbyterian party, who succeeded the Spottiswoodian line, and therefore they were ordained both deacons and priests, previous to their consecration. Spottiswood and his associates were consecrated in 1610, *per saltum*; there having been instances of laymen who had been elevated at once to the Episcopal office. But in the present instance, it was not thought prudent to follow that example. Wodrow expresses great indignation at the submission of these two to be re-ordained, and, as usual, accuses them of the most unworthy

* Analecta, vol. i. p. 133.

motives. It is curious to remark his approbation of Spottiswood, for, as he alleges, refusing to be ordained priest previous to consecration. There is no evidence, however, that Spottiswood and his associates had any option. The debate on this subject was maintained by the English prelates then present, among themselves, and in which the Scottish prelates elect took no share. Wodrow again shows his jealousy for the honour of the old line, whom his friends extirpated, by complaining, and not without reason, that Dr. Sydserf was excluded from assisting at the consecration of his countrymen. It certainly does appear singular, that he was not added to the consecrators, as he was not only in London at the time, but actually present at the consecration of the new line of succession.

The king granted a commission, under the great seal of England, to the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Landaff, to consecrate the four gentlemen already named. Their consecration took place in the Abbey Church at Westminster, on Sunday, the 15th of December, 1661. Actuated by the same principle as his royal grandfather, Charles excluded the Archbishops of Canterbury and York from assisting at the consecration of the Scottish prelates. In former times, the Archbishops of York claimed a metropolitical jurisdiction over the Scottish

church, which, even in the days of popish slavery had been most vigorously and successfully resisted. Their exclusion, both in 1610 and on the present occasion, was to prevent any jealousy on the part of the Scottish, or the revival of any such claim on the part of the English church. "This consecration," says Nicol, "was actit with great solempnitie in presence of mony of the nobilitie and clergie of England, and mony of the nobles of Scotland, being thair for the tyme attending his maijestie. This ordour of consecratioun at Westminster, was done of necessitie, becaus thair was no bischop on lyf in Scotland, except onelie one, to wit, Mr. Thomas Sydeserff, Bischop of Galloway. Eftir this consecratioun, their new bischops, with mony peerres of England and Scotland were feasted in the new paroch yaird at Westminster; eftir quhich the bischops went all to the church, and hard ane uther sermone."*

We are indebted to the pious zeal of the late Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen, for having procured from Archbishop Juxon's register-book, a duly attested extract of the consecration of these prelates, as follows :—

"In the year 1789, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, Bishop Strachan, and myself, being at London, solliciting relief to our church from cer-

* Nicol's Diary, 354, 355.

tain penal statutes ; at the desire of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, who, some years before, had been consecrated by the bishops in Scotland, we applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for an attested extract of the consecration of the Scottish bishops in 1661 ; and through his grace's condescending attention, received what follows :—

“ Extract from the Register-book of Abp. Juxon, in the library of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, folio 237.

“ It appears, that James Sharpe was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, Andrew Fairfull, Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblenen, and James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, on the 15th day of December, 1661, in St. Peter's Church, Westminster, by Gilbert, Bishop of London, commissary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the Right Reverend George, Bishop of Worcester, John, Bishop of Carlisle, and Hugh, Bishop of Landaff, were present and assisting.

“ Extracted this 3d day of June, 1789, by me, William Dickes, secretary.” *

* Note, on page 351, to “ Primitive Truth and Order, vindicated from Modern Misrepresentation ; with a Defence of Episcopacy, particularly that of Scotland, against an attack made on it by the late Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen, in his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, and a concluding address to the Episcopalians of Scotland. By the Right Reverend John Skinner, in Aberdeen, Senior Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church.”

It has been alleged as matter of complaint, that the preliminary ordinations of the Scottish prelates unchurched all churches (so called) on the Presbyterian model. It was certainly following out the principle maintained by the church in all ages. And are men to do wrong for the sake of an idle compliment to those who live in causeless schism, and who have recorded their solemn oath to extirpate the whole Episcopal order? Men, who had actually extirpated the whole prelacy of Scotland, and who, within thirty years, attempted to do the same to the successors of those men then ordained, were not entitled to any such deference. They are exceedingly sensitive on this point; but they never consider that the Covenant unchurches, and imposes the extirpation of all churches, nor reflect on their own violence and injustice, which they exhibited in the reign of Charles I., and after the Revolution. There was at this time no rabbling, nor excommunicating, nor deprivation of their livings, as on these two occasions; but every one was confirmed in his benefice, on the simplest possible condition. The ordination to the priesthood was, besides, in conformity with the sentiments of the primitive church. "But," says an ancient father, "do you think it sufficient to say, that they are orthodox and sound in faith? Suppose they are, yet still their *ordination* is null and invalid, and

then what can their faith, or any thing else signify? Christians ought to contend as earnestly for *valid ordination* as they do for the very faith itself; for if it be lawful for every pretender to consecrate and make themselves priests, then farewell *altar*, farewell *church*, and *priesthood too*.* The language of the fathers of the Anglican church are in strict conformity with the above sentiments of St. Chrysostom. "No qualifications," says Dr. Potter, "are sufficient to empower any man to exercise any function or office in the church, who has not been first approved and commissioned by those whom God has invested with authority for that end."† Whoever is so invested, although he may not have the qualification of holiness, yet all his ministrations are valid. The clergy ought to be pre-eminently holy; but their personal holiness is not so absolutely necessary as their *authoritative* qualification: that is, that they be duly sent or ordained by the imposition of the hands of a bishop. Dr. Hicks, and all other sound divines of the catholic Church of England, maintain that men of the most eminent virtues and abilities, were they as full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom as were the seven deacons, have neither power

* St. Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 822. Edit. Savil.

† Disc. of Ch. Govt. p. 221.

nor authority to act as ministers of the gospel, without the imposition of the bishop's hands. If, on the other hand, they have been lawfully ordained, though they may, by their wickedness deprive themselves both of wisdom and virtue, and resist the motions of the Holy Spirit, yet all their ministrations are valid and effectual. "The seven deacons," says Dr. Potter, "were antecedently distinguished from the rest, by their great and eminent qualifications; and one of them, in particular, is said to be a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost; and yet they were not permitted to exercise the least of ecclesiastical ministries, till the apostles had ordained them by prayer and laying on of hands."* Episcopacy is a positive, divine, and apostolical institution; as such, it is absolutely necessary in the church; and can only be kept up by an uninterrupted succession. This succession has been uninterruptedly enjoyed by the Church of England, from the days of St. Paul, who undoubtedly founded that church. Such a succession of Episcopal ordination being absolutely necessary to the ruling of the church, the English bishops were willing and desirous of communicating this privilege to the Church of Scotland. The Socinians were the first who denied the necessity of a succession of

* Disc. of Ch. Govt. p. 220.

legitimate ordination ; and the Presbyterians are obliged to shelter themselves under the same objection, because they had no predecessors from whom they could claim. They succeeded no one from whom they could derive such a power ; but proceeded from themselves, and were the original of their own authority, consequently are of human institution. “ Now,” says Mr. Thorn-dyke, “ seeing Presbyters never received by their ordination authority to ordain others, seeing no word of God gives it them ; seeing all the rules of the whole church take it from them ; the attempt of our Presbyters in ordaining without or against their bishops, must needs be void and to no effect, but that of schism in dividing the church upon so unjust a cause ; they could not receive the power of the keys from them that had nothing to do to give it ; and therefore, in celebrating the eucharist, they do nothing but profane God’s ordinances.”* If their celebration of the eucharist be “ profane,” it must follow that their baptisms are also invalid and null ; and the more unlawful, because done in direct opposition to the bishop’s authority ; or in other words, in defiance of the church. St. Cyprian, in his 27th Epistle to the Lapsers, says :—“ Our Lord, whose commands we ought to dread and obey, instituting the

* Just Weights and Measures, p. 120.

honour of a bishop and the order of the church, says thus to Peter, &c. From hence, by the turns of times and successions, the ordination of bishops and the order of a church is so handed down, as that *the church is built upon the bishops*, and all the administration of the church is managed by the same rulers. Seeing, therefore, this is founded in the *divine law*, it is marvellous to me, that with such a bold temerity, some of you should have written thus to me in the name of a church ; whereas a church consists of a bishop and clergy, and faithful or unlapsing Christians." Epiphanius likewise states, " that the order of bishops begets fathers for the church, whereas the order of Presbyters has no power to beget fathers or teachers, but only to beget sons to the church by baptism. Indeed how should any Presbyter constitute teachers, since he has *not power* to impose hands in ordination." St. Jerome has been supposed to have countenanced Presbyterian views ; yet in his fourth Epistle concerning the Montanists, he distinctly places the bishops in the seat of the apostles ; for, says he, "*apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent.*" With us the bishops hold or enjoy the place of the apostles.

CHAPTER V.

Form of presentation to the bishoprics—Synods and Presbyteries forbidden to meet till confirmed—Petition of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright—Bishops arrive at Berwick—Popular feeling—Triumphal entry—Consecration—List of the bishops—Reflections—Anecdote—Burnet's character of the bishops—"True and Impartial Account"—Turkish Spy—Meeting of Parliament—"Redintegration" of the Episcopal order—Deputation sent to invite the bishops to take their seats in parliament—Procession—Order in which the Commissioner and the Three Estates sat—Procession to the palace—Covenant declared illegal—Presentation and collation to churches required—Declaration on taking office—Prorogation—Description of the church-service—Synodical meetings—Synod of Edinburgh—Synod of Glasgow—Commissioners' progress—Council at Glasgow—Ministers desert their charges—Glasgow act—Further proceedings—Middleton removed—Christmas kept—Livingston—Covenant ordered to be burnt—Burnt at Linlithgow—Henderson's monument defaced.

1662. THE new prelates were appointed to their respective sees by the king's letters patent, because the furious persecution of the Covenanters had extirpated the deans and chapters, as well as the bishops. The custom in Scotland was the same as in England, that by *congè d'elire* the chapter elected their bishop. But as this could not be done on account of the extirpation of the

deans and chapters, all the bishoprics were made donative, for the time being, as in Ireland, till the deans and chapters were restored. There is a letter extant in the "Episcopal Chest," from Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, dated 21st of March, 1676, requesting his grace to recommend fit persons to fill some vacant bishoprics, and to which is annexed, a copy of a remarkable paragraph, from the Life of Dr. Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's, after the Restoration, purporting "that as in the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell the usual method of filling the sees in England was utterly impracticable, therefore the king should be petitioned to grant his royal license, empowering the bishops to meet together, and to make choice of fit persons, according to the canon and practice of the primitive church, which scheme his majesty most graciously received and approved of. And thus the consecrations (in England) were to be performed in a canonical manner, and with the utmost prudence and precaution, as to the safety of the consecrators and consecrated, from any persecution from the enemy." In Scotland the king presented the bishops elect to their sees, and the following is the form of presentation of Archbishop Sharp to St. Andrews, as it is recorded in Wodrow's history :—

"That during the tumults in the kingdom for twenty-three years preceeding, laws were made for the extirpation of the

church-government, by the archbishops and bishops, against the established law and government of the church of this kingdom, in prejudice of his majesty's power and prerogative, which are rescinded by the consent of parliament; so that the authority, civil and ecclesiastic is redintegrate, according to the laws in force before the rebellion.

“ And because at this time the deans and members of chapters are for the most part dead, and their offices vacant; so that archbishops and bishops cannot be nominated, presented, and elected according to the order prescribed by act of parliament, 1617.

“ And that his majesty considereth that the offices of the bishops and archbishops in this kingdom do vaik in his majesty's hands, by the death and demission of the last incumbents, particularly the archbishopric of St. Andrews, by the decease of the last bishop thereof, to wit, Mr. John Spottiswood.

“ And his majesty being informed of the piety, prudence, &c., of Mr. James Sharp, doctor in divinity, therefore his majesty *ex autoritate regali et potestate regia, certa scientia, proprioque motu*, makes, creates, and ordains the said Doctor James Sharp, archbishop of the said archbishopric of St. Andrews, and primate and metropolitan of all Scotland.”

The ACT RESCISSORY placed the church on the footing on which it stood before the Glasgow Assembly in 1638. In consequence, the meeting of synods and Presbyteries became unlawful, and were by that act in reality prohibited; but that no inconvenience might accrue, they were specially licensed to meet as formerly. Now, however, when some of the bishops were consecrated, and all of them nominated to bishoprics, it became

necessary to postpone the meetings of synods and Presbyteries until after they were regularly called and constituted by their respective bishops. On the 9th of January, therefore, the privy council issued a proclamation, declaring the power of these courts to be now void till the bishops should reappoint them; and at the same time commanding all due deference and respect to be paid to the archbishops and bishops. Notice of this was sent by the lord chancellor to the sheriffs of counties, who again were to communicate the same to the ministers of parishes. The Presbytery of Kirkcudbright drew up a petition against Episcopacy; but Wodrow does not know whether it was ever presented, and therefore we may safely conclude that it never was. Nevertheless, he attempts to justify all the after sedition and insurrections of the Covenanters, by the *supposititious* refusal of the government to receive this petition, although he acknowledges that its presentation is a matter of doubt.*

On the 6th of April, the primate and the other bishops arrived at Berwick-on-Tweed. Many of the nobility, gentry, and ministers went from Edinburgh as far as Cockburn's-Path, a hamlet about eight miles beyond Dunbar, to meet and escort them into the capital. A vast multitude

* Vol. i. p. 253.

of inferior note met them at Musselburgh, whence they were conducted into Edinburgh, in triumph ; “ and with all reverence and respect received and embraced them, in great pomp and grandeur, with sound of trumpet and all other curtesies requisite. This done on Tuesday, the 8th of April, 1662.”* This is corroborated by Wodrow ; but he adds, “ which was not a little pleasing to Mr. Sharp’s ambitious temper.”† There is no doubt it would be pleasing not only to him, but to all those who wished for the peace of their country, or that the wounds of the church should be healed. It is pleasing, even at this day, when the Covenanting fire is smouldering in its ashes, to see with what unanimity so good a work was received by “ the generality of the new upstart generation, who had no love to Presbyterial government ; feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy.”‡ Let the Covenanters say what they will, this demonstration is a decided proof of “ the inclinations of the people.” It is an incontrovertible fact, and recorded too by Wodrow, that “ the generality of the people were wearied” of the Presbyterial yoke, and none but

* Nicol’s Diary, pp. 363, 364.

† Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255.

‡ Douglass’s letter to Sharp, 26th April, 1660. Wodrow vol. i. introd. p. 21.

the bigoted Covenanters were opposed to the Episcopal government.

Parliament had been prorogued from the 14th of February to the 8th of May. On the 4th of that month, the Earl of Middleton as the royal commissioner, arrived at Holyrood-house. Wednesday the 7th, was fixed for the consecration of the other prelates in the Chapel-royal, "which," says Nicol, "was lang lukit for." All the nobility and gentry which were in Edinburgh, the lord provost and magistrates, in their robes and paraphernalia, and a vast concourse of the people who were admitted by ticket were present. The two archbishops and Dr. Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, were the consecrators; "quha," says Nicol, "ordoured that bussines verry handsumlie and decentlie." The archbishops and bishops wore their full Episcopal robes. The reverend James Gordon, minister of Dumbleat, preached on the occasion. Mr. Wodrow says, his text was 1 Cor. iv. 1. "Let a man so account of us as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." Nicol says that his text was, 2 Cor. iv. 5. "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus sake." Although they differ as to the text, yet they both agree as to the subject of his sermon. Nicol says, "Wherein he acted his part very learnedly, and held out the faults of their predecessors that

made them to fall, desiring them not to encroach upon the nobility, but to keep themselves sober, and not to exceed the bounds of their functions.”*

There were seven bishops consecrated at this time, all of whom had had Episcopal ordination before the grand extirpatory rebellion. Mr. George Haliburton, minister of Perth, “a very good worthy man,” was preferred to the see of Dunkeld, by the king’s letters-patent. “Murdoch Mackenzie, parson of Elgin, descended from a younger son of the laird of Garloch, the first branch of the family of Seaforth, was preferred by the king’s letters-patent to the see of Moray. He was born in the year 1600, and received Episcopal ordination from Maxwell, Bishop of Ross; and had been chaplain to a regiment under Gustavus Adolphus. After his return from Germany, he became parson of Compton, next of Inverness, and lastly of Elgin. David Strachan, parson of Fettercairn, and a branch of the house of Thornton, in the Mearns, was consecrated to the see of Brechin. John Patterson, minister first of Foveran, and next of Aberdeen, was, in virtue of the king’s letters-patent, consecrated for the see of Ross. David Fletcher, brother of Sir John Fletcher, king’s advocate, and parson of

* Diary, p. 365.

Melrose, was consecrated for Argyle. He continued his pastoral functions at Melrose till his death in 1665. Robert Wallace, minister of Barnwell, in the county of Ayr, was consecrated for the bishopric of the Isles. Three of those who had been nominated for the bishoprics of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Caithness, were absent, but were consecrated at St. Andrews, in the month of June. These were George Wishart, of the family of Logie, in Angus, who was minister of North Léith, and deposed in 1638, by the rebels, for refusing to take the Covenant. David Mitchel, was preferred to the see of Aberdeen. He was born in Kincardineshire, and was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but deposed by the illegal Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638. He retired from the fury of the misguided Covenanters into England, and was preferred to a benefice there. After the Restoration, 9th of July, 1661, he received the degree of doctor in divinity, from the university of Oxford, being at the time, "by the chancellor of England's letters, one of the prebendaries of Westminster. These letters say 'that Mr. David Mitchel of Aberdeen, is a person very learned and honest, and, from the beginning of the troubles, has been a great sufferer for the cause of his majesty and the church, &c.'" Patrick Forbes, son of the famous Presbyterian minister at Alford, in the county of

Aberdeen was preferred to the bishopric of Caithness, and consecrated with the preceding two prelates at St. Andrews. Thomas Sydserf, was bishop of Galloway before the grand rebellion; whom the Glasgow Assembly took upon themselves to depose and excommunicate in 1638. He was the only bishop who survived the wreck of the church, in the line of Archbishop Spottiswood. As a reward for his sufferings and loyalty, he was translated from the see of Galloway to that of Orkney, being richer, and not troubled with turbulent fanatics.*

Nicol, who appears to have been an eye-witness of the consecration at Holyrood-house, gives the following account of the ceremony:—"The Archbishop of St. Andrews sat there covered with his Episcopal cap, or four-nukit bonnet. All that was said by the bishop at the consecration was read aff a buik, and their prayers likewise were read. The first prayer, was the Lord's Prayer, and some short prayer or exhortation efter that; next was the Belief read, and some little exhortation efter it; thirdly, the Ten Commandments were read, and efter them some few words of exhortation;—much more to this purpose not necessary to be written."† The

* Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. Russell's edit.

† Nicol's Diary, p. 366.

Liturgy and the Book of Ordination of the Church of England were used on this occasion. In all consecrations of the successors of these much-maligned prelates from that day to this, and in the ordination of all deacons and priests, the same office has been used, without exception in the Scottish branch of the catholic church. The Church of England decrees, that, "the book of the consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly."—And therefore the Church of England decrees, that "whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered."* In the "Form of Church Government" attached to the "Westminster Confession of Faith," the validity of the consecration of the Scottish bishops is likewise fully acknowledged; for it is there said,—"If a minister be designed to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained Presbyterian *according to the form of ordination* which hath been in the church of England, *which we hold*

* Thirty-nine Articles, Art. xxxvi.

for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who hath received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.”* Here there is the concurring and authorised testimony of the Church of England, and the establishment of Scotland for the validity of the orders of the church *in* Scotland. From these consecrations, the present fathers of the catholic church in Scotland have descended in a regular, unbroken succession; and may that succession continue unbroken by either rebellion or schism, till Christ, the great shepherd, and bishop of souls shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father.

Kirkton, followed by Wodrow, indulge their malice in giving the blackest character to all these fathers of the church, but especially to Dr. Sharp. Their satanic malice, and indeed that of the whole Covenanters, defeats itself, and even brings a direct reproach upon their own beloved discipline. If the bishops were such monsters of wickedness as they represent them to have been, why did the kirk, in its state of Philadelphian purity, suffer them to exercise their ministry without rebuke? Why suffer them to disgrace the Presbyterian discipline, which Kirkton informs

* Form; &c., attached to West. Conf. Faith, p. 591.

us was so severe, and so inquisitorial, that even a poor peasant could not escape its searching strictness, far less its ministry? We leave these questions to be answered by those who believe and continue the malicious misrepresentations of these persecutors of the true church. Had they really been such immoral men, under such an inquisitorial discipline, it would have been next to impossible to have concealed their immorality, even although Kirkton admits, that their tyrannical discipline made *hypocrisy* the besetting sin of the age. It says very little for the severe morality to which the Presbyterian discipline is said to be so favourable, to wink at such alleged wickedness in their ministers. Had these men, however, remained in the obscurity of parish ministers; but more particularly, had they adopted the Presbyterian discipline, the world would have been unedified by the malicious libels of Kirkton and Wodrow. It is certain, there never was the slightest accusation of immorality against them till *after* their promotion to the order of bishops. The Covenanting historians, and who have been but too thoughtlessly copied by more reputable names, have heaped the most atrocious falsehoods on the Scottish bishops; accusations which a small degree of reflection would show were the suggestions of malice and envy alone. The bishops were

chosen out of the party known by the name of public Resolutioners, towards whom the Covenanters entertained the most fiendish hatred.

None, however, suffered so much, nor more unjustly, than Archbishop Sharp. It seems to have been a chief and paramount object with his enemies, to fix on him the guilt of necromancy, and for which purpose the most absurd and improbable falsehoods have been gravely recorded as materials for future history. Such "weak inventions of the enemy" would only excite contempt, as being the childish gossip of ignorant and silly men, envious of his superior abilities and station, were it not for the deep and fiendish malice which lurks under them. The atrocious libels which the chief historian of that period has put into circulation, and which have been thoughtlessly and maliciously repeated without enquiry, are recorded upon no better authority than mere hearsay. The object is apparent, and hitherto has been eminently successful; for not content with taking his life in a most barbarous manner, they have never ceased to murder his character, so that he has been a double martyr—in deed and in reputation. Good men in all ages have been the butt of the wicked; but none were ever so maligned and insulted whilst living, nor their memories so persecuted when dead, and some of them even

murdered, as these fathers of the church, but especially the archbishop. The persecution, whether active or passive, to which the *true church* has ever been subjected by heretics and schismatics, may constitute one of its *marks*. The church in England was crushed between the upper millstone of popish Jesuits, and the nether millstone of the Puritans; and the church in Scotland was annihilated by the united ferocity and intolerance of the Covenanters and popish emissaries, at the grand rebellion. It has been all along the tactics of all these parties to persecute the church, but especially the church in Scotland, by the continued circulation of the most enormously wicked and inconsistent falsehoods on the memories of the first prelates of that branch of the church catholic. Bishop Burnet, however, who knew these prelates personally, and when age and distance had softened his personal dislike to some of them, gives a very different but true account of them in his *Life of Bishop Bedell*. The author of the “*True and Impartial Account*,” says :—

“In 1662, the ancient government of the church being fully restored, and these mentioned bishops, being wise and leading men, their example and influence drew the far greater and better part of their old brethren into their interest : so that Episcopal government was soon strength-

ened by their care ; and carefully submitted to by the body of the people. The learned Dr. Burnet, (now bishop of Sarum,) in his preface to his *Life of Bishop Bedell*, informs us what kind of men the bishops of Scotland about this time were. ‘I shall not, (says he,) add much of the bishops that have been in that church since the last re-establishing of the order: but that I have observed among the few of them, to whom I have the honour to be known particularly, *as great and as exemplary things, as ever I met with in all ecclesiastical history*: not only the practice of the *strictest* of all the ancient canons, but a *pitch of virtue and piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most angelic ranks of men*; and I saw things in them that would look liker fair ideas, than what men clothed with flesh and blood could grow up to. But of this I will say no more, since those that are concerned are yet alive, and their character are too singular not to make them be as easily known, if I enlarged upon it as if I named them.’ And no doubt this great man understood very well what he wrote, and knew to be a truth: for they studied harmony and love among themselves, and omitted no means of being serviceable to the church in their respective dioceses.

“Archbishop Sharp’s methods were Christian

and prudent, and attended with very great success. He entertained his clergy with much brotherly love and respect, and was a great judge and encourager of learning, wisdom, and piety, and laboured to have all the churches within his jurisdiction planted with such, particularly these in the shire of Fife, and brought that county to such a conformity, that from being '*Presbyterian and Covenanting Fife*,' it became quite otherwise affected and principled, and so continues to this time; which shows the blessing and lasting strength of good conduct.

"The hatred the Presbyterians bore to the order of bishops, made them even enemies to their persons. The more rigid and violent of the gang traduced and maligned the whole, particularly Archbishop Sharp, with the falsest, most improbable, and bitter invectives and libels that could be invented by restless, malicious, and calumniating spirits. And no small part of the quarrel was, because many of them, they thought, had been once in their cause, but had separated from them, and were joined to what they believed was more consonant to the primitive institution of ecclesiastical communion and ends of society. Some of the furiosos of the party were incensed to what is next to rage and madness, against Archbishop Sharp: nay, their revenge and malice brought them the length of

enthusiasm, and pretences of prophesy, that his death would be violent ; which puts me in mind of an ingenious reflexion of the witty author of the ‘ Turkish Spy,’ who, writing of his barbarous murder, and the unparalleled rage of his bloody and sacrilegious enemies, adds, ‘ that it was easy to presage that he should die a violent death, which they were resolved to execute themselves.’

“ The archbishop and his brethren did bear these unchristian dealings with a patience which became their holy profession ; and, considering their cause, and the seditious party who were their enemies, they esteemed their afflictions light, and were no way discouraged for doing that which they were persuaded was their duty, expedient, lawful, and necessary ; yet always keeping themselves within the bounds of moderation and charity. For although no acts could be better contrived than these were which established Episcopacy, and laid limitations on Presbyterian preachers ; yet these laws were so far from being extended, or rigidly executed, that scarce was there any diocese where Presbytery had any tolerable share of the affections of the people, in which there were not some of these in the exercise of their ministry, by the connivance and favour of their respective bishops : and particularly in the shire of Fife, there were several of them allowed

to enjoy their offices and benefices during their whole lives, without being molested by the archbishop. And even when one of these, who was his old acquaintance, had indecently, from the pulpit, railed against the whole order, and against himself in particular, all the use he made of it was, that he said to a noble lord, who was his ordinary hearer, ‘My lord, tell mine old friend, your minister, to live easy with me, as I do with him; otherwise he will be the loser, and have himself to blame.’ But there were some whom he never thought it a kindness done to moderation to favour, particularly Mr. Gillespie, a pragmatic and factious man;* for when the Lord Sinclair desired of the archbishop to have him settled preacher at Dysart, he answered his request:—‘My good Lord Sinclair, Mr. Gillespie hath lorded it over his brethren more than all the bishops that I know ever did; one metropolitan is enough for Scotland, and surely two for the province of Fife would be too many.’†

Now, Archbishop Sharp was one of those to whom Bishop Burnet says, he had “the honour of being known,” and therefore the character which he has given directly applies to him; but lest the above might be thought too favourable,

* And who offered to go all lengths to bring in Episcopacy.

† True and Impartial Account, p. 56—61.

the opinion of the author of the "Turkish Spy" which is alluded to in the preceding account, is here subjoined. He was a severe satirist, and spared neither friend nor foe; but as he was a contemporary, and professes to speak what was the general opinion of the archbishop; his testimony is unexceptionable.

"Forbearing, therefore, to enlarge in giving the particular account of all the nice differences, that are of late years sprung up among these western infidels, in matters of opinion and church discipline, I will only inform thee, in short, that those who first revolted from the Bishop of Rome, still retained an inviolable attachment and dutiful reverence for their own national bishops; submitting to their conduct, and owning them as fathers, and guides of their respective churches.

"But as there is no end of divisions, when once the unity of a people is broken, which is the only cement that fastens all societies, so this first separation from the Roman Episcopacy soon begat another, from all Episcopacy whatever, through most of the Reformed, or Protestant nations of Europe, especially in Scotland, the theatre of many bickerings and animosities, on this account—of bloody combats and civil wars—and finally, now in this year, the stage of a barbarous murder, committed on the person of the chief mufti, or archbishop, of that nation.

"He was a man of an accurate and extraordinary spirit, and in his very youth gave early marks of a refined genius in sciences, to which he brought no small reputation and honour, through the vastness of his abilities, his profound judgment, and dextrous sagacity, in all things that he undertook. This is the character given him by those of his nation resident here in Paris, of whom there are always great numbers.

“ This greatest and highest ecclesiastical dignity was given him by the present King of England, at his return from a twelve years’ exile, as a debt to his great abilities, and a reward of his merits and services, in labouring might and main to effect the king’s restoration. From the moment that he acquired this honour, such as were equally enemies to kings and bishops, *persecuted him with slanders and invectives*. The streets swarmed with *libels against him*, and men’s tongues were as busy as their pens in railing at him, because he was resolved to endeavour his utmost, that Episcopacy might be restored in Scotland, as it was in England, though it had been subverted in both nations during the usurpation of Oliver the tyrant. It was this drew upon him the malice and revenge of the seditious, and they spared not in public to *threaten* his death. Nay, some years before he was murdered, one of these furiosos shot at him in the open streets of Edinburgh, but missed him. Then the seditious published libels, wherein they gloried in the attempt, and only were sorry that it took not effect. *They also prophesied that he should die a violent death ; and it was easy for them to presage this, which they were resolved to execute themselves.*” *

On the 8th of May, the second session of Charles’s first Parliament met, and having laid a good foundation in their first session for the settlement of the church, continued in the second session to act in accordance with so good a beginning. Dr. Haliburton, Bishop of Dunkeld, preached at the opening of the session. The first act, and preparatory to the introduction of the

* Turkish Spy, letter x. vol. viii.

spiritual estate to their seats, was “ for the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the church by archbishops and bishops.”

“ Forasmuch as the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church, doth properly belong unto his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy, in causes ecclesiastical ; and in discharge of this trust, his majesty and his estates of parliament, taking to their serious consideration, that in the beginning of, and by the late rebellion within this kingdom in the year 1637, the ancient and sacred order of bishops was cast off, their persons and rights were injured and overthrown, and a seeming parity among the clergy factiously and violently brought in, to the great disturbance of the public peace, the reproach of the reformed religion, and violation of the excellent laws of the realm, for preserving an orderly subordination in the church ; and therewithal considering what disorders and exorbitances have been in the church, what encroachments upon the prerogatives and rights of the crown, what usurpation upon the authority of parliament, and what prejudice the liberty of the subject hath suffered, by the invasions made upon the bishops and Episcopal government, which they find to be the church-government most agreeable to the word of God, most convenient and effectual for the preservation of truth, order, and unity, and most suitable to monarchy, and the peace and quiet of the state : therefore, his majesty, with advice and consent of his estates of parliament, hath thought it necessary, and accordingly, doth hereby *redintegrate the estate of bishops* to their ancient places and undoubted privileges in parliament, and to all their other accustomed dignities, privileges, and jurisdictions, and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of their Episcopal function, presidence in the church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, and all other acts of church-

discipline, which they are to perform with advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence. And his majesty, with advice aforesaid, doth revive, ratify, and renew all acts of any former parliaments, made for the establishment, and in favour of this ancient government; and doth ratify and approve all acts and proclamations emitted by his majesty or his privy council, since the first day of June last, in order to the restitution of bishops. And further, it is hereby declared, that whatever shall be determined by his majesty, with advice of the archbishops and bishops, and such of the clergy as shall be nominated by his majesty, in the external policy and government of the church (the same consisting with the standing laws of the kingdom,) shall be valid and effectual. And his majesty, considering how necessary it is that all doubts and scruples, which, from former acts or practices, may occur to any concerning this sacred order, be cleared and removed, doth therefore, of certain knowledge, and with advice aforesaid, rescind, cass, and annul all acts of parliament, by which the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this church, doth stand in the church, and in the general, provincial, and Presbyterial assemblies, and kirk sessions; and all acts of parliament, or council, which may be interpreted to have given any church power, jurisdiction, or government, to the office-bearers of the church, their respective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon, and subordination to the sovereign power of the king as supreme, and which is to be regulated and authorised, in the exercise thereof, by the archbishops and bishops, who are to put order to all ecclesiastical matters and causes, and to be accountable to his majesty for their administrations.”*

* Act 1st. 2d Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II. Collections of Sir Thomas Murray, of Glendock, fol. 69.

This act further restores the bishops to their *civil* rights, possessions, patronages, superiorities, and emoluments as they existed before the year 1638. But it declared "that this act of restitution shall give no right to any archbishops or bishops, or their successors, nor to the heirs or executors of the deceased bishops, of any rents belonging to the archbishoprics or bishoprics preceding the year 1661, after the said year 1638, but that all the said rents intromitted with, by and pertaining to such persons as had right thereto for the time. As also all such persons who *bona fide* have made payment of their feu duties, tiends, and tiend duties and others, rents of their bishoprics, are and shall be also secured for by-gones, allennarly, free of any action or question, notwithstanding of this present act, or any thing therein contained."*

Thus far Charles's ministers and parliament had acted in conformity with his patriotic design of restoring the Scottish constitution in church and state. The act above had "redintegrated" the bishops—that is, restored the first estate to their original position as an integral estate of parliament; and the other two estates, the lords temporal and the commons, with his majesty's

* Act 1st, 2d Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II. Collection, &c. by Sir Thomas Murray, of Glendock, fol. 69.

ministers, determined to make their introduction into the house as solemn and imposing as possible. On the same day (the 8th of May) the spiritual peers assembled in their Episcopal robes, in the archbishop of St. Andrews' house, in the Netherbow, and parliament sent a deputation of their number, consisting of the Earls of Kelly and Wymess, two barons, and two commoners, to invite them to take their seats in the house. The whole walked in procession, two and two, the archbishops leading. The procession was joined by the lord provost, bailies, in their robes, and town-council, with their mace. Crowds of the people lined the streets and cheered them as they passed along. On their entrance into the house his grace the commissioner rose, and addressed them in a speech from the throne ; when they were conducted to their seats, and the above act read over. This completed the business of the day, and the house adjourned.*

In the Scottish parliament the three estates sat in one chamber. The king or his commissioner sat on a throne six steps high, with a canopy of state over it. On the first step under him sat the lord chancellor, on a bench, with the other officers of state on both sides of him. The lords of session or judges sat on the next step

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255.

below him. The bishops sat on the right of the throne, rising up in two rows of benches; the archbishops sat on the highest, and the other bishops on the lower, according to the dignity of their sees, or the dates of their consecration. On the left of the throne was another great bench of three steps, and as many rows of benches, on which the nobility sat according to their precedence. In the middle were two tables, upon one of which the regalia were deposited; and beside them, in two great chairs, the constable and marshal sat. At the other table, sat the lord clerk-register, with his deputy clerk, who were the clerks of parliament. There were also benches placed on the floor; on those on the right sat the commissioners for counties, and on the left, the commissioners for burghs.*

The whole walked to Holyrood-house in procession, preceded by six maces, where the commissioner entertained the members at dinner. Three gentlemen-ushers waited, one on the commissioner, the second on the chancellor, and the third on the archbishop of St. Andrews. The purse-bearer followed. The commissioner and chancellor walked next with two noblemen on their right and left. The two archbishops in

* The author's "Book of the Constitution."

their robes; the other noblemen and members of parliament, with the bishops, filled up the procession.*

The unanimity of parliament, and the rejoicing of the people without, shows the truth of Douglass's assertion, that the people were wearied of the yoke of Presbytery, and anxiously desired an Episcopal government. No opposition was made in Parliament to the reintegration of the Episcopal estate, except by some of the lords of erection, whose whole property consisted of the plunder of the church, and whose opposition arose entirely from the fear of being compelled to make restitution. David Lesslie, the old Covenanting general, made some opposition; and seeing some members laugh at him, he remarked, in a menacing tone, that "he had seen the day that they durst not laugh at him."† A remark which shows the difference betwixt the tyranny of the Covenant usurpation, and the freedom of a lawful government. It shows also that the Restoration of the church was a national act so cheerfully and unanimously agreed to that the solitary opposition of an individual Covenanter only excited the laughter and contempt of the house.

* Nicol's Diary, p. 366, 367. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 256.

† Wodrow, p. 259.

Charles remitted to his parliament the entire privilege of covering over the rebellious miscarriages of his subjects since the year 1638, and to make such exceptions to the indemnity as in their wisdom they should think merited punishment. Accordingly the second act of this session is "for the preservation of his majesty's person, authority, and government." This was the more necessary, as the Solemn League and Covenant made rebellion and resistance to all lawful authority a sacred religious duty.

"The estates of parliament taking into their consideration the miseries, confusion, bondage, and oppressions this kingdom hath groaned under since the year 1637, with the causes and occasions thereof, do with all humble duty and thankfulness acknowledge his majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness in passing by the many miscarriages of his subjects, and restoring the church and state to their ancient liberties, freedom, rights, and possessions; and the great obligations thereby lying upon them to express all possible care and zeal in the preservation of his majesty's person, (in whose honour and happiness consisteth the good and welfare of his people,) and in the security and establishment of his royal authority and government against all such wicked attempts and practices for the time to come. And since the rise and progress of the late troubles did, in a great measure, proceed from some treasonable and seditious positions infused into the people 'that it was lawful to subjects, for reformation, to enter into covenants and leagues, or to take up arms against the king or those commissioned by him;' and that many wild and rebellious courses were taken and practised in pursuance thereof, by unlawful meetings and gatherings of the people, by

mutinous and tumultuary petitions, by insolent and seditious protestations against his majesty's royal and just commands, by entering into unlawful oaths and covenants, by usurping the name and power of council-tables, and church-judicatories after they were by his majesty discharged; by treasonable declarations that his majesty was not to be admitted to the exercise of his royal power until he should grant their unjust desires, and approve their wicked practices, by rebellious rising in arms against his majesty, and such as had commission from him; and by the great countenance, allowance, and encouragement given to these pernicious courses by the multitude of seditious sermons, libels, and discourses, preached, printed, and published, in defence thereof. And considering that as the present age is not fully freed of those distempers, so posterity may be apt to relapse therein, if timeous remedee be not provided; therefore the king's majesty and estates of parliament do declare that these positions—'that it is lawful to subjects upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king; or that it is lawful to subjects, pretending his majesty's authority, to take up arms against his person or those commissioned by him, or to suspend him from the exercise of his royal government, or to put limitations on their due obedience and allegiance,' are rebellious and treasonable; and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping of council-tables that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious. And particularly that these oaths whereof the one was commonly called 'The National Covenant,' and the other entituled 'A Solemn League and Covenant,' *were, and are in themselves unlawful oaths*, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, *against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same*; and that there lieth no obligation upon any of the

subjects from the said oaths or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state; and therefore annul all acts and constitutions ecclesiastical or civil, approving the said pretended National Covenant or League and Covenant, or making any interpretations of the same or either of them. And also it is hereby declared by his majesty and estates of parliament, that the pretended Assembly kept at Glasgow, in the year 1638, was in itself (after the same was by his majesty discharged under the pain of treason) an *unlawful and seditious meeting*: and that *all acts, deeds, sentences, orders, or decreets passed therein*, or by virtue of any pretended authority from the same, *were in themselves from the beginning, are now, and in ALL TIME COMING, to be reputed UNLAWFUL, VOID and NULL*: and that all ratifications or confirmations of the same, passed by whatever authority, or in whatsoever meetings, shall from henceforth be void and null.*

The seditious principles inculcated throughout the whole of Wodrow's history are peculiarly manifested in his remarks on the above act. He says it is "every way so singular an *establishing iniquity by law*, a foundation for much persecution, and an opening the door for popery, &c." "The very naming of these clauses of those acts, does abundantly justify," he says, "the happy revolution; and cannot but expose our prelates, *to whom we owe all those iniquitous clauses*, and plainly evince that *prelacy* in the Church of Scotland was still the road to *tyranny* in the state,

* Second Act, 2 Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II.

persecution in the church, horrid invasions upon the liberty of the subjects, and dreadful oppression in the matters of conscience."* He magnifies the power of the prelates absurdly : for were we to believe him, both his majesty's ministers and the whole parliament were mere creatures of their will. But they had in the whole of this session merely to take their share in the debates and record their votes ; for the lords of the articles were chosen before the prelates were reintegrated. None of the prelates were in this session among the lords of articles, therefore this act, as well as all the others of this session were entirely free from their influence or interference. It is well known that the " lords of the articles," prepared all the bills for the Scottish parliament before it proceeded to business, and which it did little more than record and sanction : and in this case none of the bishops were of this body, because it was chosen and had performed its functions *before* their introduction to parliament ; therefore it is a false and malicious libel on them to say that they were the cause of the passing of this or any other act of this session of parliament. And at this hour the Solemn League and Covenant, which is the mother and nurse of schism and rebellion, stands in the statute-book

* Vol. i. p. 265.

under the same penal disgrace and discharge as it did when the foregoing act was passed and itself burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Notwithstanding that this act stands to this day in full force, the Solemn League and Covenant makes a prominent part of the subsidiary standards of the present Scottish establishment.*

During the predominance of the Covenant, the Presbyterian ministers procured the convention on the 9th of March, 1649, to "discharge for ever hereafter, all patronages and presentations of kirks, whether belonging to the king or to any laic person," as "an evil and bondage under which the Lord's people and ministers of this land have long groaned, &c." Willison, says this act "ought to be written in letters of gold;" the act rescissory, however, had no such respect for it; it was cleared away among all the other illegal acts of that time. Wodrow is incorrect, when he says the following act was "one of the great pillars of prelacy." It would have been passed although Presbytery had been established, in restitution of the rights of those individuals who were unjustly deprived of their patronages in 1649. In the present act, parliament chiefly insist on the rights and privileges of

* See Westminster Confession of Faith.

the patrons, which had nothing whatever to do with the restoration of Episcopacy. The act contemplates such only as had illegally possessed themselves of churches and benefices, without the consent of the patrons, since the year 1649. It does not disturb those who had been presented before that year, although there were many such then alive, who were not deprived but continued till the day of their death in the undisturbed enjoyment of their benefices. The impartial reader will likewise see the justice and clemency of the government towards the illegal possessors of churches since 1649. For the act declares, that the sentence of parliament which pronounces all such churches to be *ipso jure* vacant, was without prejudice to those ministers who should apply to the lawful patron and obtain his presentation. Here, then, was neither persecution nor oppression. In *whatever* manner a minister got possession of his church, whether by force or fraud, he might retain that possession, on simply asking the patron for a presentation which he dared not refuse. Although so many were thus declared to have no right to their benefices; yet not the slightest inconvenience occurred to any minister who solicited a presentation. Not one was refused; indeed no patron was permitted to refuse presentation. The Covenanters in the

West, rejected this easy stipulation, and many of them deserted their parishes. The act itself is as follows :—

“ The king’s most excellent majesty, being desirous that all his good subjects may be sensible of the happy effects and fruits of the royal government, by a free, peaceable, and safe enjoyment of their due interests and properties under his protection ; and that in his restitution they may find themselves restored to these rights which by law were secured unto them, and by the violence and injustice of these late troubles and confusions, have been wrested from them ; and considering, that notwithstanding the right of patronages be duly settled and established by the ancient and fundamental laws and constitutions of this kingdom, yet divers ministers in this church, have, and do possess benefices and stipends in their respective cures, without any right or presentation to the same from the patrons ; and it being therefore most just, that the lawful and undoubted patrons of kirks be restored to the possession of the rights of their respective advocations, donations, and patronages ; therefore, his majesty, with advice, &c., doth statute and ordain, that all these ministers who entered to the cure of any parish in burgh or land within this kingdom, in or since the year 1649, (at and before which time, the patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of their patronages,) have no right unto, nor shall receive, uplift, nor possess the rents of any benefice, modified stipend, manse or glebe for this present crop 1662, nor any year following, but their places, benefices, and kirks, are *ipso jure* vacant. Yet his majesty, to evidence his willingness to pass by and cover the miscarriages of his people, doth declare, that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of these ministers, in what they have possessed or is due to them since their admission : and that every such minister who shall obtain a presentation from the

lawful patron, and have collation from the bishop of the diocese where he liveth, betwixt and the 20th of September next to come, shall from thenceforth have right to and enjoy his church, benefice, manse, and glebe, as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully presented and admitted thereto at his first entry, or as any other minister within the kingdom doth or may do. And for that end, it is hereby ordained, that the respective patrons *shall give* presentations to all the present incumbents, who in due time shall make application to them for the same. And in case any of these churches shall not be thus duly provided before the said 20th of September, then the patron shall have freedom to present another, betwixt and the 20th day of March 1663. Which if he shall refuse or neglect, the presentation shall then fall to the bishop *jure devoluto*, according to former laws. And sic-like his majesty with, &c., doth statute and ordain the archbishops and bishops to have the power of new admission and collation to all such churches and benefices as belong to their respective sees, and which have vaiked since the year 1637, and to be careful to plant and provide these their own kirks conform to this act." *

An act was passed "concerning masters of universities, ministers. &c."† It was necessary to provide against a recurrence of the late fanatical and rebellious times, and to take care that the rising generation should have a religious and loyal education. School-masters and masters of colleges were therefore ordained to acknowledge

* Third Act, 2 Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II.

† Fourth Act, 2 Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II.

their several bishops, and to take the oath of allegiance. A declaration founded on the preamble of the second act of this session, was ordained to be taken by all persons in public trust ; and which was rendered necessary by the seditious spirit engendered by the Covenant. It is grievously offensive to Wodrow, who says that by this act "the parliament put the copestone upon the building of prelacy, and, inasmuch as is in their power the gravestone upon the Covenants and Presbytery."* It had been happy for the peace and well-being of the nation had his words been true. As usual, he very uncharitably lays the whole blame of these "conscience-debauching declarations" upon the archbishop, whom he compares to Julian the apostate. The Covenant was an instrument which bound men on oath to rebellion, and the destruction of the whole church throughout the empire. Such an oath was certainly unlawful, as we are bound to submit to every ordinance of men in authority, for Christ's sake. It was the duty, therefore of those whose consciences had been ensnared by it, to repent of having taken such an oath, and by no means to keep it. Can it be lawful to call God to witness a lie, and approve of rebellion against his own express institutions ? In the Old

* Vol. i. p. 267.

Testament, he declared rebellion to be as the sin of witchcraft, and therefore to be eschewed by all men who fear God and honour the king. The declaration is as follows :—


“ I, A. B. do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to subjects, upon pretext of reformation or any other pretext whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by them; and that all those gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting or keeping of council-tables, that were used in the beginning, and for the carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious: and particularly that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the ‘ National Covenant,’ (as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter,) and the other entitled ‘ A Solemn League and Covenant’ were, and are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation on me nor any of the subjects, from the said oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom.”*

Towards the conclusion of the session, an act of indemnity was passed. Besides some exceptions of certain obnoxious persons by name, liberty was granted, by what was called an imprinted act, to seclude twelve persons from places of trust, who were to be ballotted for by

* Act 5, 2 Sess. 1 Par. Ch. II.

parliament. Middleton appears to have intended by it, to seclude the Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford, Sir Robert Murray and some others ; but it terminated in his own destruction. A resolution was formed for amercing some leading men who had been prominent in the recent troubles ; and about nine hundred noblemen and gentlemen of all ranks were arbitrarily fined. It would be difficult to find a just reason for this amercement : it has been alleged, that the principal motive for it was to improve the commissioners' private estate ; but amidst so much uncharitable assumption, it is difficult to decide.

Middleton prorogued the parliament on the 9th of September till the 20th of May next year. In the intervals of parliament, the king's privy council assumed the government. In order to satisfy the minds of the clergy, that in attending the diocesan synods they were acting in accordance with the recent acts of parliament, the council published an act ordering them to attend their respective diocesan synods. In the course of this year Mr. Honeyman, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, published a small tract, entitled "The Seasonable Case." In it he explained the terms of communion required by the Protestant catholic Church of Scotland as then by law established. There was no Liturgy used ; but the clergy were enjoined to repeat the Lord's Prayer once at



least, if not oftener, at every meeting for divine service; likewise the Doxology, or the Song of Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. This divine song was composed when the church was overrun with Arianism, and it Christianizes the Jewish Psalms. It is never used in the public worship of the Presbyterians but it was always used by the then Established Church, and was one of the only visible means of distinction between them. At the baptism of infants the Apostles' Creed was directed to be used. Although no Liturgy was authorized, yet many of the clergy regularly used the Book of Common Prayer by their own authority, and the agreement of their parishioners. Kirk-sessions were attached to each church, as in the Presbyterian discipline. Presbyteries met under a constant moderator appointed by the bishop; and diocesan synods met, in which the bishop himself presided, or the dean, in his absence. These terms of communion were so easy, that when Mr Calamy was informed of it, and of the opposition of the Presbyterians, he said:—"What would our brethren in Scotland be at? what more would they have? Would to God that we had these offers." Sir George Mackenzie says:—"The reader will be astonished, when we inform him that the way of worship in our church differed nothing from what Presbyterians themselves

practised (except that we used the Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, and in baptism the Creed, all which *they rejected*.) We had no ceremonies, surplice, altars, cross in baptism, nor the meanest of those things which would be allowed in England by the dissenters in the way of accomodation; that the most able and pious of their (the Presbyterian) ministers, did hear the Episcopal clergy preach, many of them communicated in the churches, and almost all the people communicated also; so that it cannot be said, that they were persecuted and forced to join with an unsound, much less an heretical church, as the French Protestants are."*

In October, the bishops held their first diocesan synods, each in his own diocese. For the most part, the Covenanting ministers absented themselves, as might have been expected; but in general, the attendance was full. The Bishop of Edinburgh held a synod, on the 1st of October, in person, and again on the 14th of the same month, when his dean presided. The bishop appointed two clergymen out of every Presbytery, to prepare business for the synod, whom he termed the brethren of the conference. It was enacted in the first of these synods, that in every burgh and populous parish within the diocese,

* Vindication, pp. 343, 344.

there should be morning and evening prayers—that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated once at least, or oftener, at the minister's discretion, at every preaching—that the Doxology be again revived and sung, “this being a time (says Nicol) quhawn many sectaries deny the Godhead of Chryst”—that the Belief, or Apostles' Creed be repeated at the sacrament of baptism, by the father of the child, after the minister—that all the ministers in the diocese, who had not conformed to the Glasgow Act, be indulged to come in, and accept collation from the bishop, betwixt and the 25th of November next, otherwise the bishop is to proceed against them, and fill their kirks with other ministers. This synod consisted of fifty-eight clergymen: the members of the privy council, the lords of session, the king's advocate, with the lord provost and magistrates were present, in order to show respect for the bishop and clergy at their first meeting. Wishart himself preached from Phil. iv. 5, “Let your moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand.” The indulgence above alluded to had the desired effect, and all those who stood out, now submitted to receive collation from the bishop before the appointed time.”*

The synod of Glasgow, where the Covenanters

* Nicol's Diary, p. 381.

were numerous, was thinly attended. Wodrow says, there were only twenty-seven clergymen present, although it is the most extensive diocese in Scotland. After the rising of parliament, Earl Middleton made a progress "through that part of the country where he expected most coldriffinness (indifference) to the bishops, and make his best efforts to bring all into subjection to them." He was attended, it would appear, by a full quorum of the privy council, to afford their advice when affairs required it. In order to excite disrespect towards the royal authority, and "hatred to the bishops," Kirkton, and after him Wodrow, represent the commissioner and the council as being continually guilty of the most beastly intemperance. The insinuations and accusations of Kirkton, which are always literally copied by Wodrow, without acknowledgment, are to be received with caution. Their credulity and malignity induce them to receive every old woman's gossip, to magnify and distort the most innocent facts, and to *invent* and *misrepresent*, where falsehood will better serve their purpose of blackening the memory of both the prelates and the privy council. "In the conduct of the rigid Covenanters, there is nothing more remarkable than their disposition to slander, and the *reckless intrepidity* with which they *scattered around them the most atrocious calumnies*.

Nor was this unchristian propensity confined to their dislike of the Episcopalians; on the contrary, the two parties of Presbyterians arrayed against each other, during the ascendancy of the Commonwealth, had mutual recourse to the most bitter words; and on one occasion, the Remonstrants (Covenanters,) described their antagonists, the more loyal class, as ‘men of depraved habits.’”* On the arrival of the commissioner in Glasgow, Archbishop Fairfowl complained of the obstinate refusal of many in his diocese to comply with the terms of the act of parliament, which enjoined them to ask for presentation from the patron, and collation from himself. A council was held in the College hall, on the 4th of October, present the commissioner, the chancellor, Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Montrose, Lords Morton, Eglinton, Linlithgow, Callender, Newburgh, Sinclair, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and —— Blackhall. Wodrow affirms that these counsellors were so flustered with drink that none of them could write down the act; but the act itself shows no signs of the incapacity of the members for business. It was an impolitic act, and might have been spared, and shows the folly of both parties. Men who had possession, and who were desired to keep it on such easy

* Dr. Russell's Hist. of the Ch. in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 264.

terms as asking presentation and collation, but whose obstinacy would not yield such a trifling matter, might have been allowed to remain undisturbed. Their irregular entrance would have been a much less evil, and one too to be cured by time, than the schism which the desertion of their parishes afterwards caused. The obstinate punctiliousness of the ministers, and the rashness of the council, laid the foundation of all the after miseries which that church and nation has since suffered. Instead of the dew of God's blessing having been sent down on that church, the fiercest winds have ever since blown out of the sanctuary ; and, as a nation, her candlestick has been removed, of which she has proved herself nationally to be unworthy.

Perhaps it will be supposed that the Glasgow Act was executed with great rigour, and that those whose churches were declared to be *ipso facto* vacant, were ejected from their manses. But nothing of the sort was done ; the ministers themselves relieved the government of the trouble of a rigid execution. Immediately on the publication of the Act of Glasgow, as it has been called, they generally forbore the exercise of their ministry, and *deserted their flocks*. They were guilty of this rash desertion, so unlike the duty of true ministers of Christ, on the mistaken conceit that the church could not exist without their ser-

vices. They deceived themselves with the egotism that the government would be obliged to yield to their will, and court them to resume their charges. In this they were mistaken, and soon evinced their regret; and many of their own party censured their rashness, in so tamely parting with their churches. Their folly was the greater, as the parliament did not intend any punishment by their act, but merely to declare that those who had been elected by the people, had not a *legal title* to their churches; and at the same time, offered to give them a legal title. But even allowing that they had been unjustly ejected by the government from their churches, yet there would have been law, if not equity, on the side of the executive; whereas there was neither law nor justice when the Covenanters in 1688 rabbled out those Episcopal clergy who had entered to their charges, undoubtedly according to law. The following is a copy of the Glasgow Act, so important in its consequences then and since to the peace of the Scottish church:—

“ At Glasgow, 1st of October, 1662, the lords of his majesty’s privy council taking into consideration, that notwithstanding it is statute and ordained, by an act of the last session of the current parliament, entitled, ‘ An Act concerning such Benefices and Stipends as have been possessed without Presentation from the lawful Patron;’ that all ministers who have entered upon the cure of any parish, in burgh and landward, in or since the year of God, 1649 (at and before

which time the patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of their patronages,) have no right unto, nor shall uplift the rents of their respective benefices, modified stipends, manse or glebe, for this instant year 1662, nor for any year following, unless they should obtain presentation from the lawful patron, and have collation from the bishop of the diocese where they live, before the 20th day of September last; as likewise that it is statute and ordained, that the 29th of May be yearly kept as a holiday unto the Lord, for a solemn anniversary thanksgiving for his majesty's restoration to his royal government, and that all ministers should observe the same in their respective parishes, under the pains therein contained; yet several ministers have not only contravened the aforesaid acts of parliament, but in manifest contempt of his majesty's royal authority, albeit they have justly forfeited their right to the benefices, modified stipends, and others, continue to exercise the function of the ministry at their respective churches as before; therefore, they prohibit and discharge all ministers who have contravened the aforesaid act of parliament concerning the benefices and stipends, to exercise any part of the function of the ministry, at their respective churches in time coming, which are hereby declared to be vacant: and that none of their parishioners who are liable in any part of their stipends, make payment to them of this instant crop, and year of God 1662, or in time coming, as having no right thereunto; and that they do not acknowledge them for their lawful pastors, in repairing to their sermons, under the pain of being punished as frequenters of private conventicles and meetings. And command and charge the said ministers to remove themselves and their families out of their parishes betwixt and the first day of November next to come, and not to reside within the bounds of their respective Presbyteries. As likewise, that no heritor or other, liable in payment of any part of the minister's stipend, make payment to

any minister who hath contravened the aforesaid act of parliament for keeping the anniversary thanksgiving, of any part of this year's stipend, and declare that the ministers who have contravened the said act, shall be liable to the whole pains therein contained ; and ordain these presents to be forthwith printed and published by the sheriffs of shires, and magistrates of burghs, that none may pretend ignorance."

This act alarmed a great proportion of the ministers within the diocese of Glasgow ; and it has been alleged, the consequence was, that about a hundred ministers deserted their parishes, as they said, " for conscience sake ;" that is, they made it a matter of conscience whether they should receive a presentation from a patron, according to law, and institution by a bishop, or be elected by the inhabitants of the parish, and be collated by a Presbytery. " They could not keep holidays, they could not take the oath of allegiance or supremacy, they could not own patrons, nor subject themselves to bishops, and therefore, must be turned out."* This last is erroneous ; they were *not turned out*, neither was it designed that they should go out ; but the ministers of their own accord *deserted* their parishes, and left them literally vacant. Middleton and the council went through Ayrshire to Dumfries, thence to Edinburgh, where on their arrival he was informed of

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 283.

the consequences of the Glasgow Act. Those members of the government who had not been engaged in that transaction, but especially the primate, blamed them very much. He is reported to have said, that Fairfowl's folly had ruined them.* The council summoned the two archbishops to meet at Edinburgh, to assist with their advice for the redress of the disorders consequent on the Glasgow Act, "and to provide for the good people whose condition would be rendered very hard, through the want of the ministry and the benefit of the ordinances." On the 23rd of December the council issued a new act in some measure confirming the Glasgow Act, but extending the time for soliciting presentation and collation to the 1st of February, 1663. It declared that all those who had deserted their parishes should still possess them, provided they complied with these terms within the limited time. It likewise is embodied in the act that the bishops who happened to be in Edinburgh at that time had solicited and obtained this grace for the western ministers. The act declared, that those who obstinately persisted in their disobedience and continued their desertion, should "thenceforth be esteemed and holden as persons disaffected to his majesty's government." This was giving

* Kirkton, p. 150.

these headstrong men full warning of the danger they had incurred ; but to no effect, they had resolved to follow the example of the English non-conformists. The act directed that recusants were to remove from the dioceses of Glasgow, Argyle, and Galloway ; but prohibits them from entering into the dioceses of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. These two being already sufficiently inflammable, such firebrands thrown amongst them might excite disaffection both to the church and the state. They were directed to transport themselves and families to the more sober and Episcopalian region beyond the Tay, where their presence would occasion little or no disturbance. In those days when there was neither steam nor railway communications, nor Macadamized roads, this was esteemed and felt to be a great hardship ; but from which a very slight relaxation in a point which involved no breach of any divine precept, might have saved them.

The king, of his own accord, postponed the payment of the arbitrary fines formerly mentioned. Many of the ministers in the west returned to their parishes till the 1st of February ; and were censured by the people for deserting them.* About the end of December, the quarrel between Middleton and Lauderdale assumed a more

* Kirkton, p. 154.

serious aspect, and the former hastened up to court to counteract his rival. He fell under Charles's displeasure, and was deprived of all his preferments and reduced to great poverty. As some compensation for his great services in carrying out Charles's patriotic views in the restoration of the liberties of his country, he was sent out as governor of Tangier, where he soon after died of grief and disappointment. Christmas-day was kept this year in Edinburgh with great solemnity, and Bishop Wishart preached in the High-church to a crowded auditory. The commissioner, the chancellor, and all the nobility who were then in town, were present. After the church-service "command was given by tuck of drum" to spend the remainder of the day as a holiday, without labour of any sort—that there should be no markets, nor shops, nor booths to be opened."*

A passage in the examination of John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, who is formerly mentioned as being two righteous to sail in the same ship from Holland with Charles and his few faithful friends, because they were "malignants" and "*the plague of God*," shows the Jesuitical finesse of the Covenanters. He was examined respecting preaching on the 29th

* Nicol's Diary, p. 383.

of May, which he had done that year, because the anniversary happened to fall on a weekly preaching day of *his own* appointing; but without noticing the subject of his majesty's Restoration.

“ *Chancellor*. But what is the reason you do not keep the day appointed by parliament?—

Livingstone. My lord, I have not that promptness of judgment or expression that were requisite for surprising questions, and would beg, if your lordships please, to be forborne.

“ *C*. Can you not give a reason why you keep it not?—*L*. My lord, even as to the laws of God there is a great difference between a man's doing of that which God hath forbidden, and the not doing of a thing for want of clearness that God hath commanded; and much more this holds in the laws of men.

“ *C*. But you kept holidays of your own; you kept a day of thanksgiving for the battle of Long Marston Moor, and several days of fasting in the time of the engagement. Did you not keep the day for Long Marston Moor?—*L*. So far as I know, I did; but these days were *not called holidays*, but only *appointed* upon some special occasions. And besides, one may scruple if any have power to appoint anniversary holidays.”*

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 311.

And Sir George Mackenzie, in his Vindication, relates, that the witnesses who were produced at the trial of the rebels taken at Bothwell-bridge, in the true spirit of Loyola swore that they saw what might perhaps be the prisoners' *ghosts* or *spirits*, but could not take upon them to say that they were really flesh and blood! And when asked if the prisoners had arms; they said they saw the hilts and the scabbards of swords, but whether or not there were *swords* attached to the hilts and within the scabbards, they were quite ignorant! By these Jesuitical juggles they attempted to defeat justice, and this was agreeable to their whole system, in which the Jesuits had a large share, as indeed they have had in all the schisms and distractions of the church since their first institution.

The 29th of May was ordained, by act of parliament, to be kept for ever as an anniversary-day of thanksgiving for the Restoration of the king and royal family. It happened likewise to be the king's birth-day; and the privy council passed an act ordaining the Covenants to be burned by the hands of the common hangman on that day. They were accordingly burned by the hands of that respectable functionary on the king's birth-day this year, in the presence of the privy council at Edinburgh, and amidst the rejoicing of the people. This shows the better

feeling to which the nation had now returned, and their detestation of that faction which had forcibly imposed this impious bond upon them. Nicol says, "And to the end the reidar may be informed of the *temper of the pepill* at this tyme, and of the *haivlent and malice borne aganes the Covenant*, I thocht fitt to insert heir a paper given out in prent."* It is a poetical effusion of no great merit ; but it sufficiently marks the *hatred and malice* with which the people viewed the Covenant. Wodrow, in a fit of holy horror, describes the scene enacted at Linlithgow, where the hangman did his devoir to that instrument of rebellion and sacrilege ; and the author of "The Cloud of Witnesses," has left the following description of this scene :—

"A dismal account of the form of burning the Solemn League and National Covenant with God, and one another, at Linlithgow, May 29th, 1661, being the birth-day of King Charles the Second.

"Divine service being ended, the streets were so filled with bonfires on every side, that it was not without hazard to go along them : the magistrates, about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the Earl of Linlithgow's lodgings, inviting his lordship to honour them with his presence at the solemnity of the day ; so he came with the magistrates, accompanied with many gentlemen, to the market-place, where a table was covered with confections ; then the curate met them and

* Nicol's Diary, p. 337.

prayed and sang a psalm, and so eating some of the confections, they threw the rest among the people. The fountain all that time running French and Spanish wine of divers colours, and continued running three or four hours: the earl, the magistrates, and gentlemen did drink the king and queen their good health, and all royal healths, not forgetting his majesty's commissioner, his health, Lord Middleton, and breaking several baskets full of glasses.

“ At the market-place was erected an arch, standing upon four pillars, on one side whereof was placed a statue in form of an old hag-mare, having the Covenant in her hands, with this superscription—‘ A glorious reformation :’ on the other side was placed a statue in form of a whig-mare, having the Remonstrance in her hand, with this superscription—‘ No association with malignants ;’ within the arch, on the right-hand, was drawn, a Committee of Estates, with this superscription ‘ An act for delivering up the king :’ upon the left-hand was drawn the commission of the kirk, with this superscription—‘ A Commission of the Kirk and Committee of Estates, and Act of the West Kirk, Edinburgh,’ and upon the top of the arch stood the devil, as an angel of light, with this superscription—‘ Stand to the cause ;’ and on the top of the arch hung a table with this :—

‘ From Covenanters with their uplifted hands,
 From Remonstrators with their associate bands,
 From such Committees as govern'd this nation,
 From Kirk-Commissions, and from their profession,
 Good Lord deliver us.’

“ On the pillar of the arch, beneath the Covenants, were drawn kirk-stools, rocks and reels; upon the pillar beneath the Remonstrance was drawn brechams cogs and spoons; on the back of the arch was drawn the picture of rebellion in a religious habit, with turned up eyes, and with a fantastic gesture, and in its right-hand holding ‘ Lex Rex,’ that in-

famous (rather famous) book, maintaining defensive arms, and in the left-hand holding that pitiful pamphlet (rather excellent paper), 'The Causes of God's Wrath,' and about its waste laying all the acts of parliament, Committee of Estates, and acts of General Assembly and Commission of the Kirk, their protestations and declarations during these twenty-two years' rebellion (so they called the time of reformation) and above, with this superscription, 'Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft.' Then, at the drinking of the king's health, fire was put to the frame, which gave many fine reports, and soon burnt all to ashes, which being consumed, there suddenly appeared a table supported by two angels, carrying this superscription:—

'Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
 And to his kingdom happily restor'd;
 His queen arriv'd, the matter now is known.
 Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord!
 Flee hence all traitors that did mar our peace,
 Flee hence all schismatics who our church did rent,
 Flee hence covenanting remonstrating race,
 Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent.'

"Then the magistrates accompanied the noble earl to his palace, where the said earl had a bonfire very magnificent. Then the earl and magistrates and all the rest did drink the king and queen, and all royal healths; then the magistrates made procession through the burgh, and saluted every man of account, and so they spent the day rejoicing in their labour."*

Happy had it been had the Solemn League perished and been forgotten, but it has been most

* The words within parenthesis are the author's own running commentary.

fatal in its operation, as in fact it was designed by Cardinal Richilieu, its author, and the Jesuits his agents, and who again were the servants of satan in his attempt to destroy the church. Those who adhered to and maintained the Covenant, most faithfully executed the work of the great enemy of man, as the following extracts sufficiently show. James Skeen, who was executed for the rebellion of Bothwell-bridge and Airmoss, says, in his written speech on the scaffold: "You would canvass the justice of *disowning* his (the king's) authority, which *to do*, you are *engaged by oath to God*."—"This wicked burning of the Covenant and 'Causes of God's Wrath,' is *cause* enough to me to disown his authority"—"if there were no other cause of his rejection than these proceedings, they might suffice *to justify* any who were engaged by God, having time and place, *to cut him off*; for by the law of God, murder, adultery, and oppression are punishable by death, and kings are not exempted, far less tyrants that are lawfully excommunicate. But to these horrid impurities is added, the shedding of the blood of poor innocents, which aggravateth his guilt; so that though the Lord should make him penitent, *he deserves death by law*."*

* Cloud of Witnesses for the royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ, &c., pp. 29, 30; and pp. 66, 67.

These were the sentiments commonly entertained by the adherents of the Covenant, and it is not surprising that the government should desire to suppress a document which produced such murderous fruits; nevertheless, it was revived at the Revolution, and occupies a prominent place in the standard of the establishment of Scotland at the present hour. The Solemn League and Covenant was a device of Cardinal Richilieu in revenge for Charles I. having repeatedly slighted his offer of military assistance to reduce the rebels. The author of *Cassandra*, says very justly of it:—"He sent the Scots Presbyterians a more powerful and wicked engine than the Spanish Armada—their cursed League and Covenant, which, *mutatis mutandis*, is word for word the very same with that called the Holy League, which, under the name of *preserving religion*, had raised that terrible rebellion in France, which almost ruined the whole nation. And as that *Holy League*, which was *worded* 'for the preservation of the king's majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the *Roman Catholic religion*,' did murder their king, Henry III., who lived and died a *zealous Roman Catholic*; so our *Solemn League*, which was also *worded* in the same manner, in defence of the *king* and the *Protestant religion*, did murder our king,

Charles I., who lived and died *a zealous Protestant.*”

The chief actor in the imposition of this infamous Covenant was Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, who was moderator of the treasonable Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and who died on the 18th of August 1646. To his memory, a monument had been erected in the Greyfriar's church-yard of Edinburgh, emblazoned with the Solemn League and Covenant. In the month of June this year, parliament ordered the emblazonment to be defaced, and which was done accordingly.*

* Nicol's Diary, p. 373.

allowed by their own historian himself, that "those worthy ministers were blamed for leaving their congregation so easily, and going out at the first publication of the council's pleasure."—"So fickle and uncertain are the sentiments of a multitude, that some were ready even to have suspected the ministers, had they continued at their posts, as secretly in collusion with the bishops, as afterwards did appear in the reproaches cast on some this way."* Archbishop Sharp was dissatisfied with the summary proceedings of the Archbishop of Glasgow and the privy council, in their act of council in that city, which gave their decree the appearance, though unjustly, of persecution. He said, that the most prudent method would have been to have allowed them to vacate their churches in detail, which could have been gradually and insensibly filled with orthodox and peaceable clergymen. But the simultaneous desertion by so many, embarrassed both the Archbishop of Glasgow and the privy council, and at the same time it excited a temporary clamour among the people, whose excitement was increased by the violence and uncharitable insinuations of the late incumbents. That Archbishop Sharp's opinion was the most prudent and safe is admitted by Kirkton: "Lastly, had they

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 330.

stayed till they had been turned out one by one, and their places planted immediately, as Bishop Sharp designed, the change had never been so sensible, nor the opposition to bishops so considerable ; whereas, Providence made the course ministers took, the first act of clear opposition to that course by the alienation it made upon the people ; and the break it made upon the country, the bishops and all their might were never able to heal." No, nor the Presbyterians neither ; for the same breach or schism, for the same cause and by the same parties, broke out in the Presbyterian establishment soon after the Revolution, and which continues under the name of the Secession, with equal rancour, to this day, and which looks very like a just judgment upon them for their former divisions. " Yet such," continues Kirkton, "*was the weakness of the people, that many of them began to censure what they had formerly approven, and the ministers' bitter sufferings turned with some rather into offence than an edifying example. Such was the cloud upon us at that time, ignorance, scrupulosity, and censure being frequently conjoined in our sad experience.*"*

To supply the places of the Covenanters, young theological students were brought from other

* Kirkton's History, p. 152.

parts of the country, particularly from the north, who were ordained and inducted into the vacant livings. Kirkton and Wodrow give a most false and exaggerated character of the new clergymen who succeeded the deserters. Neither has Bishop Burnet been deficient in contributing his mite towards rendering them odious. The former, most unjustly calls them, "a sort of young lads, unstudied and unbred, who had all the properties of Jeroboam's priests, most of them of two or three years' standing, miserable in a world, and unable to subsist, which made them so much long for a stipend ; and so profane and void of conscience themselves, that they believed there was none in any other, and that the humour of profession might be as easily dispelled by profit or loss, as it had been in themselves. So they went to their churches with the same intention and resolution a shepherd contracts for herding a flock of cattle."* Wodrow copies the above, but mixes some of his own deeper malignity along with Kirkton's, in the following words :— "When the curates entered their pulpits it was by an order from the bishop, without any call from, yea, contrary to the inclinations of the people. Their *personal character was black*, and no wonder their entertainment was coarse

* Kirkton, p. 160.

and cold. In some places they were welcomed with tears in abundance, and entreaties to be gone : in others, with reasonings and arguments, which confounded them ; and some entertained them with threats, affronts, and indignities, too many here to be repeated. The bell's tongue in some places was stolen away, that the parishioners might have an excuse for not coming to church. The doors of the church, in other cases, were barricaded, and they were made to enter by the window literally. The laxer of the gentry easily engaged to join in their drinking cabals, which with all iniquity did now fearfully abound, and sadly exposed them : and in some places the people, fretted with the dismal change, gathered together and violently opposed their settlement, and received them with showers of stones."*—"I have known some profane people, if they had committed an error at night, thought affronting a curate to-morrow a testimony of their repentance."†

Such is the character given of the new incumbents ; but which is too clumsily put together to bear a rigid criticism. An attempt is made to show, that the lower class of the people were holy and pure ; whilst amongst the higher orders

* Kirkton, p. 161. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 332.

† Kirkton, p. 163.

"all iniquity fearfully abounded." But it cannot be denied, even by their eulogists, that men who conducted themselves in the wanton and malicious way that these men did, must have been very ill taught by the deserters. But the black character bestowed on the new clergy is a gross falsehood, and which is made evident by their patient sufferings seven-and-twenty years afterwards. On clergymen, such as have been described by these accusers of the faithful, the holy and charitable spirit of martyrdom could not rest; yet *all these* were more than martyrs in their personal sufferings at the Revolution, and have been in their reputation ever since. "Their patient submission," says the present amiable Bishop of Edinburgh and *primus* of the Church in Scotland, "*to the most vexatious persecution after the Revolution, adds to the force of the proof, which is not to be invalidated by the accusation often adduced, that they were weak and wicked, or as the technical phrase was, scandalous. Weak men never, I believe, suffer real evil patiently, and wicked men certainly never do, if by any compliance they can avoid it. Now the Episcopal clergy of Scotland,*" (and it was the men now under consideration, on whom the atrocious persecution of the rabble fell,) "*suffered the loss of every thing, and suffered in a spirit which never was exceeded in any*

age of the church. The truly Christian spirit of the whole community was such as to carry along with them in their sufferings many who might naturally have been expected anxious to escape from the connexion, if they found a convenient opportunity.* These patient sufferers in 1688, are the men who have been so malignantly represented as, in 1663, "coming in with *perjury* written on their foreheads,"—as adulterers, drunkards, gamesters, and as assuming the cure of souls on the same principle as a shepherd the care of sheep. Their integrity was strongly tried; but they were infinitely superior to the morose uncharitable Covenanters who had deserted their flocks; and of whom Bishop Burnet says:—"They were for the most part a grave, solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager; and their temper sour, but they had an appearance which created respect. Their faults and defects were not conspicuous. They had a *very scanty measure of learning*; and a narrow compass in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excess of passion and indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure all


* Note E, to Bishop Walker's Gaelic Sermon.

who differed from them, and to *believe and report* whatsoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were superstitious and haughty. In their sermons they were apt to enlarge on the state of the present time, and to preach against the sins of princes and courts; a topic that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage; and the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on, in which they perceive (that) they (themselves) have no share, and to believe that all the judgments of God came down by the means and procurement of other men's sins. But their opinion about the independence of the church and clergy on the civil power, and *their readiness to stir up the people to tumults and wars*, was that which begat so ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that *very few* who were not deeply engaged with them in these conceits, *pitied them* under all the ill usage they met with."*

That schism commenced at this time which has not yet been healed, although, in God's good time, perhaps it may. The people were excited by the Covenanting ministers, to hatred and malice against their clergy, and their fellow Episcopalians, instead of being taught brotherly love and charity. Their desertion of their churches

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 264.

was a political measure, but which did not altogether answer the end they designed. It has, however, been visited upon the present establishment, in the breaking out of a secession, upon exactly similar grounds. It is quite evident, from the following quotation, that pride and worldly policy had more influence with these over-zealous men, than pure religion. In short, there had been the emission of an evil spirit upon them—of such a spirit as that which in two apostles would have called down fire and brimstone upon the inhospitable Samaritan villagers. Luke, ix. 54, 55: “All that winter,” says Kirkton, “and spring, people in the west and south found their churches desolate, and so were constrained to wander for lack of bread, sometimes to the churches where the old, forlorn Presbyterian ministers continued their ministry, sometimes to share of the family exercises of the younger ministers, who were ousted, but sojourned among them; and sometimes the multitude that came to partake of the family exercises, increased so, that the minister was constrained to preach without, and at length to go to the open fields, which was the cause and original of field-meetings in Scotland, which made so great a noise. The first who began to preach in the fields were Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Gabriel Semple, and were, indeed, because of their painfulness and



boldness, in no small respect among the common people; but partly because of the deep disdain the people bore to the curates, partly because of their scandals and insufficiency, and partly because of the *admonitions* some of the *ministers gave the people* to be constant in the good old way of the Church of Scotland, and to beware of false teachers coming among them, very many of the people refused to hear the curates, after they were settled in their pulpits; and the first fruits of their ministry was scattering of their flocks. And now sprung up the lamentable question of hearing the *perjured* curates; and though very many agreed in the conclusion of forbearing to hear, yet great was the difference in the reasons for which people did forbear; for some forbore because they believed their ministers to be null and altogether illegal, either because the bishops were illegal and null in law, or because they had fallen from their office by the transgression of their clamorous perjury. Some refused to hear, because they believed they had no call to such a particular congregation, and that forbearing to hear was a proper testimony against their intrusion. Some would not hear, because they thought them so profane, that they were not for an honest man's company, much less to be acknowledged ministers. And some forbore to hear them, to shun the offence of poor, honest

people. However, the first fruit of the scruple was empty churches; and thereafter persecution, till many were compelled to do that against their profession, which they declared was altogether against their conscience; but this was a lasting temptation to poor Scotland." *

On the 24th of March, the Earl of Glencairn, lord high chancellor, wrote, by order of the council, a circular letter to all the bishops, warning them of the machinations of Jesuits and seminary priests, who were taking advantage of the religious dissensions, to beguile many unstable souls. Dissensions and divisions among Protestants have always been fomented by the Jesuits, for the purpose of making converts to the idolatrous and apostate Church of Rome. If, therefore, it were for no other purpose than self-defence against that insidious foe, unity among Protestants would be a most desirable consummation. Of the same date, the chancellor wrote to Sir James Turner, who commanded in the west country, to report all those who kept and frequented field conventicles. This measure was rendered necessary, by information received by letter, "from a sure hand," that several meetings had been held, which tended to the disturbance of the public peace. Wodrow cannot omit this

* Kirkton's History, pp. 163, 164.

opportunity of bearing false witness against Archbishop Fairfowl, and altogether without the shadow of any other proof than a *very probably*. "*Very probably*," says he, "this letter," containing information of the seditious meetings, "was from the Archbishop of Glasgow; and it shows how ready the council were to serve the prelates, when upon one letter from them, *or others*, they straight appoint such a committee as this."* That this letter was from the archbishop is altogether supposititious; yet a grave accusation is laid against him, which, although resting only on a "*very probably*," is yet intended to convey the certainty of truth. The council, however, were not serving the prelates, but their sovereign, and keeping his peace, in conformity with their bounden duty, when they took measures on certain information and from "a sure hand," whoever he might be, for the informant is not named, to prevent midnight-meetings of the disaffected. But Wodrow had to make out a case, and he has hitherto succeeded to admiration, on no better foundation than the above "*very probably*" it was the archbishop "*or others*," who gave the information; but if the information was conveyed by that or any other prelate, they were only doing their duty to the powers that were.

Parliament met on the 18th of June: as be-

* Vol. i. p. 340.

fore mentioned, Middleton yielded to the greater influence of Lauderdale, at whose recommendation the Earl of Rothes, the king's favourite, was sent down as royal commissioner to this session of parliament ; Lauderdale also came down as prime minister, and brought a full pardon for Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorn, and his restoration to the earldom of Argyle, which his father had forfeited by his treason and rebellion. In this session it was enacted, that all the ministers who refused to attend the diocesan synods, or any other act of church-discipline, shall, for the first fault, be suspended by the bishop, and for the next, be deprived. Another provided that noblemen and heritors, who wilfully and obstinately absent themselves from their parish churches, shall lose a fourth part of that year's rent in which they are accused : yeomen, the fourth part of their moveables ; burgesses, the same, together with their freedom of the town in which they live. A third act required all persons in public offices to subscribe the oath of allegiance. For refusing this oath Earl Crawford was deprived of the office of treasurer, and Sir James Dundas of Arniston, of his seat in the court of session. It was likewise enacted, that there should be a general assembly constituted.

It was determined that this national synod should consist of the archbishops and bishops, deans,

archdeacons, and permanent moderators, and one minister from each Presbytery, chosen by the plurality of voices; and two from each of the universities. These were to treat only of such particulars as shall be laid before them by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, president or moderator of the synod, and determined by the majority; "and this synod thus constitute is to meet at such times and places as his majesty, by his proclamation, shall appoint; and is to debate, treat, consider, consult, conclude, and determine upon such pious matters, causes, and things, concerning the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this church, as his majesty shall, from time to time, under his royal hand, deliver, or cause to be delivered to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, president of the said national assembly, to be by him offered for their consideration." This constitution is sufficiently democratic, and places the inferior clergy on a level, in point of voting, with the higher dignitaries of the church. It is not, therefore, surprising, that Archbishop Sharp was always opposed to the meeting of such a general assembly; but it is astonishing to find Kirkton complaining of this constitution on this very ground. "When I observe, contrary to the fundamentals of Episcopal government, which lodgeth the power of jurisdiction in the hands of the bishops alone, the meanest

Presbyter is allowed equal authority with the metropolitan himself, wholly contraire to the constitution of their diocesan meeting, where the Presbyters had only a consultative vote, and no more ; but let them agree about this, for such an assembly as this Scotland never saw.”*

On the 13th of August parliament passed what has been termed “The Scots Mile Act :” it narrated that several ministers intruded into parishes, and preached, &c., drawing away the people from their own ministers, and keeping disorderly conventicles. These were, therefore, commanded to remove themselves and families within twenty days, and not to reside within twenty miles of the same, nor within six miles of Edinburgh, or of any cathedral church, nor within three miles of any royal burgh. This is certainly a harsh law, and subversive of the liberty of the subject ; but the government were driven to the commission of intolerance by the Covenanters themselves, whom no severity could repress, nor kindness conciliate.

The following remarks, by a distinguished lawyer and member of the privy council, will convey some idea of the state of the kingdom and its governors at that time :—“Whatever might be said against such acts in countries where

* Kirkton's Hist. pp. 167, 168.

dissenters never entered into war, yet in this isle, where they, upon the same principles, overturned the government and laws, and were upon every occasion again attempting it, so small a caution cannot be accounted severe. This caution was much more just in Scotland than even in England, because the dissenters in Scotland were more bigoted to the Covenant, which is a *constant fund for rebellion*. The posterior acts made against field-conventicles, were the necessary product of new accessional acts of rebellion; and were *not* punishments designed against *opinions* in religion, but merely *against treasonable combinations*, which exceeded what was attempted in England or elsewhere; and the government (for the time) can *truly* and *boldly* say, that *no man* in Scotland suffered *for his religion*. But if any will pretend that religion obliges him to rise in arms, or to commit murder, this principle ought neither to be sanctioned as a defence, nor the obviating of it to be a crime: and as the Covenanters laughed at such a defence, when proposed for them who assisted King Charles I. merely for conscience sake, so they cannot deny but they zealously *pressed* Sir John Dalrymple, then (king's) advocate, *to hang* Mr. Renwick a field-preacher, for field-preaching, where some of his hearers were armed, *because* he was like to *divide their church*. After they got an indulgence from King James, against

the accepting thereof, Renwick and his party exclaimed loudly; and that so much the more plausibly, for that many of them who now accepted an indulgence from a king (James) professedly popish, had rejected and preached against those who accepted of one, when offered by a king (Charles) of the Protestant profession. I must also ask them, if any should now rise in arms,* in defence of Episcopacy, and allege conscience for so doing, would they sustain *that* as a just defence? Whenever any man offered to keep the church, former fines were generally remitted, if timely application was made; and now more indulgences and indemnities were granted by this king (Charles II.) than by any that ever reigned; and generally, *no man* was executed in this reign, *who would say*, God bless the king! or acknowledge his authority; an unusual clemency, never shown in any other nation, and such as was not practised by those who now cry out against the sincerity of that government."†

Early in November parliament was dissolved by the commissioner. The riding afterwards was

* The Vindication was written subsequent to the Revolution, at which time the Episcopal clergy were turned out of their livings by a lawless rabble; and at the time when Sir George wrote, were suffering very severe privations.

† Sir G. M^cKenzie's Vindication, works, fol. vol. ii. p. 343.

very magnificent ; but during the procession Archbishop Fairfowl caught cold, which was succeeded by inflammation. He died on the 11th, and his body was laid out in St. Giles's cathedral, where Mr. Hay, parson of Peebles, preached a funeral sermon. The bells of the city tolled from four till five in the afternoon ; and his body was conveyed in a hearse to Holyrood-house, and interred among the illustrious dead in the chapel-royal. The funeral was attended by the nobility and gentry then in town, the lord provost and magistrates, the lords of session in coaches, and many of inferior note on foot. The body was preceded by trumpets sounding, two heralds and two pursuivants in their tabrets, and a number of torches. The lord chancellor, with purse and mace ; the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other bishops in coaches followed.* Bishop Alexander Burnet was translated from Aberdeen to Glasgow, immediately after the death of Dr. Fairfowl, and Bishop Burnet was succeeded by Patrick Scougal, parson of Saltoun, in East Lothian. He was the son of Sir John Scougal, of that ilk, and the father of Henry Scougal, author of the excellent little work, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man."† In speaking of the death of Archbishop

* Wodrow.

† Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.

Fairfowl, Kirkton shows the envenomed spite with which he was actuated against the Episcopal order. It is too beastly to transcribe entirely; but the following sentence is a specimen of the author's unchristian feelings:—"The commissioner and all the estates rode from the palace to the parliament-house, in triumph and grandeur; and among the rest, the loathsome Archbishop Fairfowl finished his stinking office of bishop: * * * * so he was forced to rise and go home a footman as he came a horseman, so he made but the half of this miserable triumph; and after he was got home he would never believe the physician, who assured him death was at hand: he died by surprisal and undesired, perishing like his own dung!"* Wodrow is no ways inferior to Kirkton in blackening this prelate's memory. He says, "That Archbishop Fairfowl was my Lord Rollo's chaplain, and my Lord Colvin from them *my relator* had that he and some others were commending him for a smart man. 'Yes,' says Rollo, 'he has learning and sharpness enough; but he has no more sanctification than my grey-horse.' That the archbishop used to go out to a gentleman's house near St. Andrews, and there all the Sabbath play at cards and drink.


* Kirkton's History, p. 177.

One day one of the servants came into the room : ' Have you been at sermon,' said the archbishop ? ' Yes,' say he : ' Where was the text ?' ' Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.' "* These extracts partake so much of the malignity of their authors, that comment is unnecessary. In fact, they defeat their own evil intention by the obvious and premeditated falsehoods which they detail on mere hearsay, without a shadow of proof or even probability. It is doubtful whether the slander respecting the drinking and gaming on Sunday is meant to sully the character of the Archbishop of St. Andrews or Glasgow. In either case, however, it is a very unlikely story ; and indeed Kirkton admits that much of which the bishops and clergy were accused were mere fabrications for party purposes. " If," says he, " you ask what sort of men they (the bishops) were, I cannot but say, though they were very bad, *yet the country made them LARGE as wicked as they were.*" Sydserf, bishop of Orkney, died on the 29th of September this year. He was the last bishop of the Spottiswoodian line ; and the only one who survived the grand rebellion. Keith says " he was a worthy and learned prelate." He was succeeded in that see by Andrew Honyman, Archdeacon of

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, MSS. vol. i. p. 76.

St. Andrews, and author of the "Seasonable Case," and "Survey of Napthali."

Ascension-day fell this year on the 28th of May, and Nicol says, it was religiously kept in Edinburgh, and most other parts of the kingdom. Upon the 29th, which was the king's birth-day and the anniversary of the king's Restoration, he continues "was a solemn thanksgiving for his majesty's restoration to the royal government of his kingdoms, and a day for the commemoration of his birth; being a day honoured and rendered auspicious to this kingdom by his majesty's royal birth upon that day of the month. This day was universally kept and set apart as a holiday unto the Lord in all the churches in Scotland, and especially in Edinburgh, and in all the churches thereof, before noon. And after dinner all tokens of joy and thanksgiving was given by the town, in busking of their cross with green branches, running of wine from their spouts; the magistrates being upon the cross, they drank merrily and brake their glasses, threw them and their sweetmeats and comfits upon the High-street; erected a large scaffold upon the east-side of the cross, whereon there were placed six dancers; all this time the viols playing, the drums beating, the bells ringing, and the trumpets sounding, and the cannons roaring; with numbers of people through all the streets, dancing about the fires, both men



and women. There was nothing lacking to make this day honourable.”*

1664. After accusing the Episcopal clergy of the most foul and loathsome crimes, upon no better foundation than common report, invented and propagated by his own party, Kirkton next attacks Gilbert Burnet, whom he accuses of being an Arminian, a Papist, and a Socinian; “but he professes himself a man of that high strain of moderation and charity, that he has a bosom for every sect that wears the name of Christian, except only an unpardonable dissenter from his church. Yet he was thought fit to be a father in our church, and placed in Glasgow College, to breed our young divines; and what a fry his young disciples were, the Lord knows better than the *godly* people of Scotland, who refused to hear them or own them.”† This is a base calumny against the Bishop of Sarum, invented because he taught anti-Calvinistic doctrines. Indeed, we are told by Kirkton himself, that the established Episcopal clergy studied chiefly the works of Hammond, Thorndyke, Sherlock, and Taylor.‡ They had repudiated the Dutch divinity, and neither followed the erroneous systems of Calvin nor Arminius; but took the Scriptures and the purest antiquity for their guides.

* Nicol's Diary, p. 391. † Kirkton, p. 193.

‡ Ib. p. 191.

The following letter from the king was directed to Bishops Hamilton and Wishart, and shows the warm interest which he seems, notwithstanding his levities, to have taken in the settlement and welfare of the Church of Scotland :—

“ CHARLES R.

“ Right reverend fathers in God, our trustie and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having received from the Archbishop of St. Andrews an account of the state and condition of the Church of Scotland, we have thought fit to tell you, that we take special notice of your concurring in our parliament and in your particular stations, for the furtherance of our service ; and as we do expect that by your conformity in your church administrations, and your vigorous and unanimous endeavours in that subordination to which, by the rules of your order, you are bound, you will discharge the trust committed to you, for the good of that church and our service therein ; so you may be confident of our princely protection and encouragement, and that we will be careful to employ our royal power for removing these distempers, which the disorders of these late times have created, and preventing and remedying these evils which you apprehend to be prejudicial and obstructive to your pious and lawful designs.

“ For the further settlement and weal of the church, we have commanded the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen (whom we have presented to the archbishopric of Glasgow) to acquaint you that we have granted a commission to be passed under our great seal to persons of known affection to our service, for a speedy impartial execution of the good laws made in behalf of church-government, and for preventing and suppressing schisms, which we are hopeful will prove the most effectual expedient for crushing

the disobedience and opposition of those who are disaffected to our authority, and the lawful government of the church.

“ We have also given instructions to be communicated to you for preparing overtures to be offered to us, for a previous facilitating of the work of the national synod, constitute according to the late act of parliament, which we are resolved to call as soon as we can, promising to ourself by the blessing of God. The result of that synod may most probably conduce for the settlement and security of that church, in its doctrine, discipline, and worship.

“ We have also ordered the planting of the vacant sees of Aberdeen and Orkney, with persons of known worth and abilities : and have moreover commanded, that it shall be signified to you with how much satisfaction and content we do take notice of the late act of parliament for the better provision of universities ; and that we do commend your exemplary piety and zeal for the public good of church and state, which is visibly concerned in the flourishing of these seminaries of religion and good education in learning and virtue.

“ As we do give you our hearty thanks for so good a work, and so beseeming your profession, so we do signify our express pleasure that you use your utmost endeavours for perfecting and rendering the same effectual, according to the intent of the act ; and for this end, that you intimate our pleasure to the ministers in their respective dioceses, and appoint collectors, and give to your respective provincials complete rolls of the valued benefices and stipends betwixt and the 10th of August next, and that you take care that the several proportions be payed in against the 1st of February, 1665, according to the tenor of the act. In this you are not to fail, as you would do us acceptable service : and we shall not be wanting both to contribute ourselves, and to invite and persuade others, our good subjects, to imitate so laudable an example for promoting so universal and public good.

“In order to which we have granted a commission to several persons to join with the respective chancellors for visiting the said universities and regulating the professions therein, and disposing the relief and supplies of the mean and incompetent maintenance of professors and governors in the several colleges as they shall be proportioned by us. Thus remitting what else we have instructed the Archbishop of St. Andrews, for promoting our service to his relations, we bid you heartily farewell.


“Given at our court at Whitehall, the 12th of January, 1663-4, and of our reign the fifteenth year.

“By his majesty’s special command.

“Lauderdale.”

“Directed to the Right Reverend
Fathers-in-God, the Bishops of
Edinburgh and Galloway.”

These two learned prelates immediately commenced the examination which his majesty recommended, with the greatest diligence and exactness. They enquired particularly into the state and condition of the church, and especially into any disorder into which any part might have fallen, through neglect or otherwise. They also made the most rigorous inquisition into the conduct of the managers and masters, and also into the provisions of the universities, where it seems they found little, “save blind, irrational zeal and bigotry.” The old Covenanting leven had not been purged out of these seats of learning. On these different topics they drew up a plain and faithful report, which was laid before his majesty by Archbishop Sharp, and with which



he was so much pleased that he wrote a very gracious answer to each clause specifically ; assuring them and the other prelates, who had also rendered them great assistance, “ That their concurring with his parliament, and their uniformity in (the) church might make them have a confident assurance of his princely protection.

“ That for removing the distempers which the disorders of the late times had created, now obstructive to their pious designs, his royal power should be employed.

“ That the vacancy in the sees for their further support should be filled up.


“ That schism and disobedience to the lawful government of the church should be tried by commissioners under the great seal.

“ And lastly, with how much satisfaction and content his majesty takes notice of their concern in the universities, by procuring the additional act, with his hearty thanks for so good a work beseeeming their profession, for which his majesty gives directions with this promise—both to contribute himself, invite and persuade others, and also to grant a commission for visiting the said universities, and regulating the professions therein.”*

* Account of the Familie of Hamilton, of Broomhill. 4to. pp. 56 to 59. Published by the Bannatyne Club. James .

Early in the spring of this year Archbishop Sharp went to court, and presented the report of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Galloway, on the state of the church and the universities, to the king. Burnet and others do not scruple to allege that in undertaking this journey he was actuated by the most unworthy motives, and the most persecuting intentions. But as Burnet had conceived an implacable resentment against Archbishop Sharp, on account of his repressing his presumption in urging upon him his unasked opinion and advice ; or, as he says himself, "*despising his advice*;" we must not always take his opinion without duly weighing it. He broadly states, that the sole object of the archbishop's journey was to complain of Lord Glencairne the chancellor, in particular, and the whole privy council in general, and to persuade the king to erect a court of high-commission. Charles certainly did erect that court, but there is no other evidence than Burnet's insinuations that he was prompted by the advice of the archbishop ; and as Charles seems to have been actuated by the most sincere intentions in supporting the Scottish church, we may conclude

Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, was the second son of Sir James Hamilton, Bart. of Broomhill, whose eldest son, Sir John Hamilton, was created Lord Belhaven, by Charles I.



that its erection was with the best, though mistaken intentions.

That court was to judge and decide in all ecclesiastical offences. Its proper jurisdiction was to execute all the acts of parliament and of the privy council, which were directed towards the preservation of the peace and unity of the church. By this means, ecclesiastical affairs were entirely removed from the hands of the privy council, and placed in those of the bishops. The powers of this court were inquisitorial and independent; and its members were authorized, "to take cognizance of, and punish all offenders who went about corrupting and disaffecting people from their allegiance, respect, and obedience to the laws, and all who expressed their dissatisfaction to his majesty's authority by contravening acts of parliament or council in relation to church affairs." The members of this court consisted of the two archbishops, the other bishops, the lord chancellor, and a considerable number of nobility and gentry. Five members were a quorum, of whom a bishop must always be one. The danger arising from so arbitrary and unlimited a jurisdiction was foreseen by many; and an open breach ensued between the archbishop and the lord chancellor in consequence. Burnet says, Lauderdale foresaw the inconvenience of this court; "but gave way to it, though much against his own

mind." "Upon these things I took the liberty," he continues, "though then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expostulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of Traquair's part, giving way to all the follies of the bishops on design to ruin them. He, upon that, ran into a great deal of freedom with me; he told me many passages of Sharp's past life; he was persuaded he would ruin all; but he said, he was resolved to give him line, for he had not credit enough to stop him, nor would he oppose any thing that he proposed, unless it were very extravagant. He saw the Earl of Glencairn, and he would be in a perpetual war, and it was indifferent to him how matters might go between them; things would run to a height, and then the king would of himself put a stop to their career. For the king said often, he was not priest-ridden; he would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of Lauderdale. I pressed Sharp himself to think of more moderate methods; but he despised my applications, and from that time he was very jealous of me."* Burnet professes himself *too young* to address Lauderdale on affairs of state, for the sake merely of ascertaining his opinion; but he thinks himself old enough to

* Own Times, vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

press the archbishop with gratuitous advice. This arbitrary and unconstitutional court did not exist long. Finding that it rather irritated than reclaimed the dissentients, Charles recalled his commission about two years afterwards, and the court ceased for ever.

In former times the archbishop of St. Andrews always had the precedence of all the nobility and officers of state ; but during the rebellion, and after the Restoration, the privileges belonging to that office had been overlooked. Charles therefore was pleased of his own accord, and without any solicitation, to restore the archbishop to his proper place by his letters-patent; and he was directed to take precedence at the privy council, and in all public meetings and processions, of the lord chancellor and all other subjects. The following is a copy of the king's letter :—

“ Whereas our royal father of blessed memory, by his letter dated at Wanstead, 12th July, 1636, did signify to his privy council, that having considered, according to the custom of all civil and Christian kingdoms, what place and dignity is due unto the church, the precedency of whose chief ruler should procure more respect thereunto ; to the end that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate and metropolitan of that our kingdom, may enjoy the privileges belonging to his place, we were pleased to name him first in the commission of our secret council : and our pleasure is, that he have the first place both at our council and at all other public meetings, before our chancellor and all other our subjects within that our king-

dom ; as one from the eminency of whose place we will have none in any way to derogate : [but shall ever contribute what we can] for the advancement thereof, in so far as is lawful and expedient. And we being also desirous to maintain the honour of the church and that dignity in the person of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his successors, have thought fit to renew our blessed father's command, and to the end it may be punctually observed, we command you to registrate this our letter in the books of our council, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given, &c., 16th January, 1664."

The calumniators of the primate do not agree respecting the spring and source of this renewal of his precedency. Burnet says that the archbishop himself "moved that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the lord chancellor. This was thought an inexcusable piece of vanity ; for in Scotland, when there was no commissioner, all matters passed through the lord chancellor's hands, who, by act of parliament, was to preside in all courts, and was considered as representing the king's person."* Here Burnet accuses the primate of having solicited the precedence ; but Wodrow, on the other hand, insinuates that it was a carrying out of Lauderdale's threat of striking Episcopacy under the fifth rib—that is for the purpose of entirely ruining it. He says "that Lauderdale *in order to bring hatred on the bishops*, procured a letter from the

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 301.

king, ordering that the archbishop of St. Andrews should take place of all the officers of state, even the chancellor himself, that thus, as the letter bore, the king might show such thankfulness to God for his restoration, by putting such honour on the first order of the church.”* Lord Fountainhall says, that “Archbishop Sharp had such a letter, but never made use of it.” The chancellor was much mortified at the precedence given to the primate ; but he did not survive the diminution of his rank many months. He died on the 30th of May.†

About the same time that Johnston of Warriston suffered this year, great ferments broke out in the south and west of Scotland, especially at Dumfries and Kircudbright, but without bloodshed. Sir James Turner commanded a few soldiers which were maintained in the disturbed districts, and easily restored order. The character of this rough soldier, as given by his *enemies*, is, that he “was a tool to their (the privy council’s) mind ; a stranger in the country, being an Englishman, bred to plunder and rapine in the service of the French, perfectly void of the fear of God or man, and unacquainted either with religion or

* Analecta, vol. i. p. 27.

† Fountainhall’s Decisions, vol. i. p. 184, cited by Kirkpatrick Sharp, esq. ; note to Kirkton’s History, p. 203.

humanity.”* De Foe might have added, that he was also bred to the shedding of blood under the blood-stained Covenant. After the partial show of disaffection in the south, Sir James was ordered to billet his men at free-quarters on the disaffected—to receive and transmit informations—and to levy fines without any legal process. Living at free-quarters, his soldiers are accused of having been guilty of great rapacity ; nevertheless he afterwards proved that his harshness and severity fell short of his instructions.

On Friday, 16th of April, the Court of High Commission met at Edinburgh ; in which meeting the Declaration concerning Church Government, of Mr. James Wood, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, was condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. It is painful to reflect on the harsh steps which were adopted to compel the Covenanters to refrain from their lawless practices ; but, on the other hand, we cannot approve of men, who set divine and human laws at defiance, as the Covenanters did. We are commanded to “submit ourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord’s sake : whether it be to the king as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise

* De Foe’s *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 160.

of them that do well.”* On the 22d, the privy council issued two proclamations. One was for the recal of Buchanan’s book, *De jure Regni apud Scotos* : the other discharging the collecting and distributing money to dissenting and disaffected ministers. This year his majesty’s birth-day fell on the high festival of Whitsunday, “a remarkable day ; whereon was made in every kirk of Edinburgh three several sermons that day, in commemoration of the Pentecost wherein the Holy Spirit was sent down upon Christ’s apostles ; this day wherein the solemnity was used for the king’s birth was the full moon, even at the very solemnity, after four hours in the afternoon ; and this day the Lord sent down a gracious rain for nourishing the corns, which were parched with drought a long time before.”† These artless remarks of Mr. Nicols, clearly prove that the festivals of the church were solemnly observed by the Established Church in Scotland, in the same manner as other Christian churches celebrate them. He is an unexceptionable witness, for he had no party to serve either way by recording these simple facts.

The Earl of Crawford resigned the office of treasurer, and the Earl of Rothes was appointed

* 1 Peter, ii. 13, 14.

† Nicol’s Diary, p. 413.

his successor. The Earl of Tweedale was made president of the council. Lauderdale's brother, the Lord Hatton, and the two archbishops, were made privy counsellors. Burnet says, that on the death of the Chancellor Glencairn, Archbishop Sharp "hastened up to court, and was coldly received," for the purpose of securing the seals for himself. But Nicol, whose advice the archbishop had not despised, and consequently had no dislike to him, asserts, that the king commanded both the archbishop and the Earl of Rothes to repair to court. In consequence, both these distinguished individuals went to London, when Rothes was invested with the offices of lord chancellor and lord high-commissioner.* Burnet, ever ready to show that aversion which the primate's rejection of his unasked advice had excited, accuses the archbishop of aspiring to the office of chancellor himself. The judicious reader will judge for himself how far Burnet's relation is agreeable to truth: it is rather long, but cannot well be curtailed.

"The death of Glencairn put the primate on new designs. He apprehended that the Earl of Tweedale might be advanced to that post, for in the settlement of the Duchess of Buccleugh's estate, who was married to the Duke of Monmouth, the best beloved of the king's children, by which, in default of

* Nicol's Diary, p. 421.

issue by her, it was to go to the Duke of Monmouth, and the issue he might have by any other wife ; the Earl of Tweeddale, though his children were the next heirs, who were by this deprived of their right, had yet given way to it in so frank a manner, that the king was enough inclined both to oblige and to trust him. But Sharp had great suspicions of him as cold in their concerns ; so he writ to Sheldon, that upon the disposal of the seals, the very being of the church did so absolutely depend, that he begged he would press the king very earnestly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that post might be filled. The king bid Sheldon assure him, he should take especial care of that matter, but that there was no occasion for his coming up ; for the king by this time had a very ill opinion of him. Sharp was so mortified with this, that he resolved to put all to hazard, for he believed all was at stake, and he ventured to come up. The king received him coldly, and asked him if he had not received the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter. He said he had, but he would choose rather to venture on his majesty's displeasure, than to see the church ruined by his (own) caution or negligence. He knew the danger they were in in Scotland, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies. His majesty's protection and the execution of the law were the only things they could trust to ; and these so much depended on the good choice of a chancellor, that he could not answer it to God and the church if he did not bestir himself in that matter. He knew many thought of him for that post, but he was so far from that thought, that if his majesty had any such intention, he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation. He desired that he might be a churchman in heart, but not in habit, who should be raised to that trust. These were his very words as the king repeated them. From him he went to Sheldon, and pressed him to move the king for himself, and furnished him

with many reasons to support the proposition, a main one being, that the late king had raised his predecessor, Spottiswood, to that trust. Sheldon upon that did move the king with more than ordinary earnestness in it. The king suspected Sharp had set him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, though not without some uneasiness. Upon that, the king told him what he (Sharp) had said to himself; and then it may be easily imagined in what style they both spoke of him. Yet Sheldon prayed the king that whatsoever he might think of the man, he would consider the archbishop and the church, which the king assured him he would do. Sheldon told Sharp that he saw the motion for himself did not take, so he must think on somewhat else. Sharp proposed, that the seals might be put in the Earl of Rothes' hands, till the king should pitch on a proper person. He also proposed that the king should make him his commissioner, in order to the preparing matters for a national synod, that they might settle a book of Common Prayer, and a Book of Canons.

“ All this was easily agreed to, for the king loved the Lord Rothes, and the Earl of Lauderdale would not oppose his advancement, though it was a very extravagant thing, to see one man possess so many of the chief places of so poor a kingdom. The Earl of Crawford would not abjure the Covenant, so Rothes had been made lord treasurer in his place; he continued to be what he was before, lord president of the council; and upon the Earl of Middleton's disgrace, he was made captain of a troop of Guards; and now he was both the king's commissioner, and, upon the matter, lord chancellor. Sharp reckoned this was his master-piece. Lord Rothes being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His instructions were such, as Sharp proposed, to prepare matters for a national synod; and in the meanwhile to execute the laws that related to the

church with a steady firmness. So when they parted from Whitehall, Sharp said to the king, that he had now done all that could be desired of him for the good of the church, so that if all matters went not right in Scotland, none must bear the blame, but either the Earl of Lauderdale or Rothes ; so they came to Scotland where a very furious scene of illegal violence was opened. Sharp governed Lord Rothes, who abandoned himself to pleasure ; and when some censured this, all the answer that was made, was a severe piece of raillery, that the king's commissioner ought to represent his person,"* —that is, copy all his debauchery.

The above is Burnet's account ; but it does not appear to correspond exactly. Although he accuses the primate, without citing any authority, of coveting the seals ; yet he makes him say, that in the appointment of Rothes, the king " had done *all* that could be desired of him for the good of the church." In point of ambition, I fear Burnet was not the man who could throw the first stone at the primate.

This year the bishop of Dunkeld had been obliged to depose Mr. Donaldson from the ministry of the parish of Dalgetty, at the instance of his synod. He informed him, that he had absented himself causelessly, from five successive synods in contravention of peremptory acts of parliament—that his brethren had exhibited great reluctance to proceed against him—that they met

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. pp. 305, 307.

from him “obstinate and ungrate continuance in his seditious and schismatic way”—and that, at the synod 4th of October, his brethren “did think and vote him worthy of deposition from his ministerial function. Like as the bishop did, in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ and in the name and with the consent of all his brethren, actually at that time depose him.” Lord Dunfermline, then at London, procured a warrant from the king, commanding Bishop Hali-burton to restore him unconditionally to his living. Another minister had been inducted into this parish ; and in the mean time another order came from court “discharging all outed ministers to come back to their charges.” It is impossible to conceive that there could be peace in that church when the nobility and the heads of the church drew so ill together. The Archbishop of Glasgow was also under the necessity of deposing Mr. Robert Maxwell, minister of Monckton, at the instance of the synod. The synod condemned him because he “continued *obstinate* in refusing to join with the rest of his brethren, to sit in presbytery and synods, for the exercise of discipline.”—That he “refused to receive satisfaction when offered by them, showing them positively, that he is fully resolved not to submit” to the discipline of the church. Therefore, the archbishop confirmed the sentence of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.

From the numerous acts of individual deposition with which we meet, it cannot escape observation, that the number of resignations alleged to have taken place in consequence of the Glasgow Act, must have been greatly exaggerated. That a great many deserted their churches and flocks, rather than ask presentation, which the patrons dared not refuse, and accept collation which would not have been enforced, is but too melancholy a truth. But the numbers who were individually deposed at different times, show, that the Glasgow Act was not enforced by authority, till the contumacy and turbulence of the parties themselves compelled their own brethren in their synods and presbyteries to depose them. Let it be also remarked, that the bishops never acted on their own sole authority ; but appear rather to ratify and execute the decisions of their synods. So that the clamour raised against the bishops for arbitrary proceedings are really groundless. The inferior clergy, irritated and disgusted with the irreclaimable hostility of the Covenanted ministers, were driven in self-defence to cite them before their synods, and pass sentence of deposition on them. That the multitude spoken of by Kirkton and copied by Wodrow, did not desert their churches in 1662, appears evident from the last author's own words :—" The people," says he, " of the Presbyterian per-

suasion were now everywhere harrassed, and the methods I hinted at in the former chapter continued. Every day the soldiers grew more and more insolent *at the churches* where any *old Presbyterian ministers ventured to continue.*" If so many had deserted as they allege, there could have been none who "ventured to continue at their churches," and consequently none to depose. But we meet with many depositions, therefore the clamour raised about the desertions after the Glasgow Act has been greatly exaggerated and magnified, for the purpose of serving a party.

1665. Sir James Turner was kept in full employment in the western counties, in suppressing the seditious meetings of the Covenanters; and it cannot be said that he exercised his faculties meekly. The Covenanters maintained a treasonable correspondence at this time with the Dutch, with whom Charles was at war. As a necessary measure of precaution, therefore, Turner, by authority of the privy council, disarmed the western Covenanters. There is little doubt that the Covenanters were treasonably allied to the disaffected in England and Holland. After the rebellion, which was dissipated at Bothwell Bridge, Guthrie remarks, "The amazing height to which it (the rebellion) arrived in less than fourteen days after the archbishop's murder,

leaves no room to doubt, notwithstanding the suggestions of Wodrow to the contrary, that it was *preconcerted*, both with the disaffected in England and the exiled Covenanters in Holland; for by the best accounts that have come to my hands, the number on the day of battle amounted to four thousand, great part of whom were horse.”* When the Covenanters were actuated with such a rebellious spirit, and which broke out in three distinct rebellions, the complaints of their apologists must not be admitted to their full extent; and, on the other hand, the government must be exonerated from the charge of cruelty and oppression towards the Covenanters, with which it is so clamorously accused. It is impossible to suppose that any government would tamely look on such seditious practices, without taking some measures of precaution. Men may differ respecting the judiciousness of the measures adopted, but there can be no difference of opinion respecting the necessity of suppressing such a spirit. It is not much for the credit of the Covenanting ministers, to find that they were the foremost to preach and teach disaffection to the government, and that their field-preachings were the rendezvous of armed rebels.

In May there was a general fast, on account

* General Hist. of Scotland, vol. x. p. 192.

of the Dutch war. Wodrow records the conduct of several ministers, especially a Mr. Fergusson, "yet connived at in his church at Kilwinning." This admission, with several depositions for contumacy, which occurred this year, clearly prove that the desertion was by no means so extensive as Kirkton and Wodrow would have us believe. Nay, Kirkton inadvertently admits, that many still continued in their parish churches, without having asked for presentation, or having been collated according to law. "Another practice was common among them, and that was, because the people used to go and hear the *Presbyterian ministers, who were not as yet turned out* ; and the cursed soldiers would run in troops to these churches ; they enter the church, and interrupt the worship ; they make the congregation pass out at one door ; they make them all swear whether they be members of that congregation yea or not." * }

London was desolated by the plague this spring, and in Scotland the winter was so severe, that all ploughing and farm-work was stopped from December till the middle of March, from long-continued frost and snow.

In August there was a convention of estates, by proclamation, for the purpose of raising money to prosecute the Dutch war. Rothes being

* Kirkton's History, p. 200.

chancellor, the Archbishop of St. Andrews was chosen president of this convention, "and had a long harangue to them; and in his cold way, urged, that the people might contribute willingly and cheerfully for the king's service. The king's commissioner was present, and could have delivered a speech of this nature with a far better grace; but it seems this was also for the honour of the church, that a bishop should be at the head of this convention."* "After all," says Guthrie, "it is reasonable to think, that some correspondence was kept up between the Presbyterians and their friends, who had either been banished, or had retired to Holland, which might have been dangerous to the government. To prevent any consequences of this kind, the commissioner this year made a most pompous progress through all the chief towns of the west, attended by the king's guards; and upon his return, fresh severities, as appears by the council-books, were inflicted upon the dissident Presbyterian clergy. The acts against them left it doubtful, whether it was safe for a landlord to admit them as tenants; and the Earl of Kelly, who was far from being their friend, told Archbishop Burnet, 'that the government ought to impose a badge upon them, lest he should ignorantly let any of them a house

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 424.

or tenement, and thereby incur the lash of the law.'”*

In October, Mathew Ramsay, of Kirkpatrick Wester, and Robert Mitchel of Luss, were deposed. In November, the court of high-commission was demolished, and the privy council resumed the executive. An act of council was emitted, declaring, that “after a long and tender forbearance, find it necessary their former acts, 23d of December 1662, and 13th of August 1663, be extended to all other ministers who entered in before the year 1649, and have relinquished their ministry, and been deposed by their ordinary, do charge, &c. such to remove themselves, and families, &c. out of these respective parishes.” There was likewise a proclamation against conventicles. Kirkton admits, that at this time the people willingly attended the churches: “truely at this time the curates’ auditories were *reasonable throng*; the *body of the peuple*, in most places of Scotland, waited upon their preachings; and if they would have been content with what they had (in the opinion of many) they might have stood longer than they did; but their pride vowed that they would be more glorious, and better followed, than the Presbyte-

* General Hist. vol. x. p. 118.

rians; and because respect would not do it, force should." *

In May this year there was a riot or "mutinie" at the West Kirk of Edinburgh. The rioters prevented Mr. Gordon, one of the ministers, from preaching, or even entering his own church; and they upbraided him in the most opprobrious language, with maintaining the religious observation of the festivals of the church. They accused him of being the author and cause of Williamson's removal from that church, and from his functions in the ministry. They barricaded the church door, and forcibly prevented his entrance. A great many were apprehended and imprisoned; and one man and one woman, who were the ringleaders, were scourged by order of the privy council, on the 20th of May. Wodrow gives the same account, in nearly the same words as Nicol, on the authority, he says, "of a writer who was no enemy to conformist ministers."† It is not uncharitable to conclude, that there were deeper designs in this "mutinie," than Wodrow chooses to disclose, as he delicately shuts the affair up, by saying, "no more about this hath come to my hand." Had it been plausibly defensible, he would have recorded the names of the two who

* Kirkton's Hist. p. 221.

† Nicol's Diary, p. 433; Wodrow, vol. i. p. 422.

were scourged, as martyrs for the Covenant. In October the privy council received his majesty's commands, to ordain that the Marquis of Huntly should be educated in the principles of the Protestant religion, and in the family of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.*

The following letter was written by Archbishop Sharp, in reply to two letters from the Earl of Kincardine. It appears that his lordship had countenanced those seditious meetings, which were convened under the specious pretence of religion. The ministers who officiated on these occasions may or may not have been acquainted with the dangerous designs of the disaffected leaders, who encouraged and protected their meetings; but this is certain, that these conventicles were converted into dangerous political cabals. This letter is important, inasmuch as it shows what were the archbishop's real opinions on the point of Episcopacy:—

“ My Lord,—Your last tells me that your first is no accusation, but a private expostulation, not intended to be seen by any other, unless urged to it. I think I may be allowed to say, who have read it, that it brings very foul accusations of me, in what you cannot prove: and had it been addressed to the meanest stipendiary minister about you, it might have justlie caused a greater resentment of its contemptuous insinuations, and demanding a public reparation, than

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 433.

I have yet expressed. I know well, my lord, that you are a peer and privy councillor of the kingdom ; and do accordingly pay you all due honour. But, I suppose, had the most ancient peer and greatest privie councillor treated as you have done, with a freedom, which you may say is beyond ordinarie, one, who besides that he is a Christian bishop, by as authentic a derivation as anie else, is, by the munificence of the king and constitution of this Christian kingdom, invested with that place amongst the peers and privie-councillors, and which was ever given to my predecessors, they would, I think, upon calm composure, judged it to be scarce conform to the honour and civility of their peerage and trust, to charge me, upon so slender ane occasion, with prevarication, breach of promise, ingratitude, sinister dealing, and very plain insinuations of other unworthy qualities, which did ill become anie person of judgment, education, and condition, much less the character I bear, which I have not stained with anie base action ; you are pleased, without if or and, to charge me with doing injuries to your lordship, long before you were suspecting it off my hand ; that I have given bad impressions of you to the king ; represented you as disloyal ; and that after all the familiarity, knowledge, and proofs I had of you, that I have accused your lordship, and that no less than to his majesty. You appeal to the great God to judge of the wrong I knowingly have done you ; and from this you infer by a (figure) which I might reasonably conceive you would have me notice, as carrying with it a menace, that those in my station doe dare attempt the abusing of the king, and accusing men of that they did not know. If this gird in the close of your lordship's letter have any oblique aspect upon the late commitment of some persons, which, I hear, is by some charged, but most unjustlie, upon those of my order, you best can tell. But since your lordship is pleased to declare, that you have no thought to fix

that upon my station, but that the scope of your letter speaks of it with that respect you ought, I shall not debate upon the obvious logical construction it bears to anie who reads it ; but by the strain of the whole, I have cause to say, that I think more respect is due to my station and my person, so long as I am in it, than the giving of a verbal compliment of titles, when the strain and scope of the whole does charge me with criminations, which to God and my conscience are known to be false, and no man alive can make out. It will be hard to persuade me, that such usage from your lordship, and that gloss you put upon the general assertion, in the close of your letter, is for the honour of my place, in which, without boasting, I may say, I have done service to the church, to the king, to my countrie, and to the Protestant religion, by my endeavouring to suppress that spirit of sedition, disorder, and separation, which has acted so much and long, and your lordship does own is still binding, to act to the prejudice of the rights of the crown, the honour and interest of this kingdom, and the repute and power of religion.

“ I have been reflecting upon all the passages of my speaking or acting in reference to your lordship, and cannot charge myself with anie one injurious. I remember above a twelvemonth's ago, I spoke to a minister by whom you had an intimation of what came to my ears of the general sense people had of your way as to the peace of the church in those parts where your interest doth lay, and you may remember you often spoke to me of it, as that you took in good part as ane act of friendship which thereby was intended. I can say it in truth, I did not after open my mouth to any person of that mater, save that when the rumour went abroad, that when you and your friends were observed not to be verie zealous in discountenancing and suppressing the disorderly and disaffected, who were known to be more extravagant and insolent in those

places than in anie else on this side of Forth, and that your lordship gave small countenance and encouragement to the orderlie and obedient to the laws, in which I believe his majesty conceives his service to be concerned ; I told I could not believe it, having received full professions from your lordship of the contrarie. I am not conscious of any thing else, which might give any shadow for charging me with doing you ill offices. What can your lordship divine should be my end and inducement ; what temptation could I have thus to deal with you ? That particular you condescend upon, my bringing to his majesty's ears, as a crym with aggravating circumstances, your being at the communion of Tulliallan, I do deny, and no man upon knowledge can assert it as truth. I heard many weeks ago that you had been informed that at court your being present at that communion was noticed and talked of, and if you had suspected me, as I was told you did, you had occasions divers times, in the abbey and council-chamber, to have asked me of it ; but your having referred it till now, I know not upon what design, I shall give you the account of it ingenuously, which I would have done then, though the way you have taken in challenging me does not oblige me to it.

“ When the scandal of that disorderly communion was notified to the commission, the lords present, amongst whom were the president of the session, and two more of the judges of that bench, found, upon confession of the minister, that it was not according to law, I told my lord commissioner I was sure that your lordship being a privie councillor, by your presence should have countenanced such a meeting, which if I had complained of at the council-table, I was told, it could not but be noticed as of very bad example and of great offence, that the communions given by orderly ministers should be abandoned when occasions were often given of them, and factious people encouraged to gad after the communions of

the disorderlie, which are set up as banners of separation, and especially that communion administered by a person notour for his prevarication and constant declaiming, these three years past, in prayer and preaching against the government and public administrations, of which your lordship may remember you told me you had so heard and taken notice, as at your coming thither you did speak to him to abstain from offensive expressions, and you hearing of the noise made of the conventions made from several places at that communion, where some declared fugitives were present, you came to my chamber and spoke of it, and heard me express to yourself then my dissatisfaction with your being there. After when that minister who had been cited, by his carriage in a more insolent way than any who had been before the commission, had owned all for which he had been delated, as to his seditious principles and practices, so as out of pity we did forbear to put those interrogatories to him which some did move, finding that his humour did prompt him to answers which would have brought upon him the guilt of treason, and though I found he was justlie censurable, yet the votes of all these present did over-rule my opinion and desire for forbearing at that tyme to pass a censure upon him. I gave ane accompt of the commissions' procedure that night to a person then at court, who was concerned to know it, and in my letter, to my best remembrance, my expression in reference to your lordship, was in these terms, or to this sens, and no other—that I was sure that the E. of Kincardin, being a privie councillor, should by his presence and communicating have given countenance to that meeting. If his majesty had notice of this by that information or by another, (which peradventure might be, that communion being noised everiewhere in Edinburgh, and in the countrie,) and with what aggravation of circumstances, I had not yet the opportunitie to enquire, bot may be shall within few dayes, howbeit, I deny not this I wrot, which was

mater of fact and notour at the tyme. I did nothing thereby unbeseeming the character I bear, nor what reasonable could be expected by your lordship from me; I did not thereby abuse the ears of the king, nor give caus for lessening the credit, which in the courts of Christian princes is given to those in my station, nor have I forfaulted that belief which his maj. is graciouslie pleased to give to me in maters relating to his service in the church. If I had represented that mater with those aggravations immediatelie to his maj. that it did ill beseeem a person of your qualitie and trust publickly and deliberatly to countenance the violation of the lawes, and the bespattering the proceedings of the state as well as of the church, by that minister's usual praying for those who were banished upon the account of treason, and that in a place where your interest and authoritie should and can work the causing obedience and respect be paid to authoritie and the lawes, to encourage factious and ill-disposed people by your practise to persist in the way of separation they have hitherto followed, to the prejudice and vilifying of those who live orderlie and obediently, whose ministrie in word and sacraments you know divers at that communion doe abandon upon that verie accompt; to put a testimonie of your respect and liking, then which you could not show a greater, of a factious minister and his scandalous way, who you knew did live in professed contempt of authoritie and the lawes, and though not then under process and censure by a formal judicial proceeding, yet by the sentence of the law, under that guilt and scandal, which should have caused your avoiding to own him with more respect then you did orderly ministers, especially when by the construction of the law, by the particular injunction of the king to those of his privie council, by the deuty of your place and trust you are to give all countenance and assistance to the observation of the lawes and encouragement to obedient ministers, and to discountenance and suppress factious minis-

ters and unlawful meetings, which that was found to be by the commission, upon most clear grounds, and owned by the confession of that minister. And in doing hereof, I conceive you doe not gratify the interest of some persons now in authoritie in the church, for whom you may have small value, but you doe service to the king and to the public honour and interest of the kingdom, which as upon other accompts, so in this, is concerned to see to the preservation of the settled order from violation and contempt, that the king's ecclesiastical supremacie, and, in subordination thereunto, Episcopal government now restored, by *as solemn and full consent and unanimous vote* of the representatives of the kingdom in two sessions of parliament as *ever anie publick act* of justice was done since Scotland was a nation. If I had represented that it is the general observation, and frequent complaints these three years past have been made to me, that in Culross, and places thereabouts, outed ministers are harboured, admitted to pray and other exercises in families; that disorderlie ministers are treated with all kindness, who are scandalous for their neglect of discipline and administrating the sacrament of the Lord's body; who preach and pray usuallie to the dishonour of the legall government, and to the leavening and corrupting persons of all sexes and conditions with alienation and prejudice from the public settlement, more than any where in my dioces and places adjacent to it; to the great offence, grief, and disheartening of the peaceable and obedient in vicinitie to them. If I had represented that, after I had upon several occasions given notice hereof to the E. of Kincardin, yet nothing hath been done for evidencing his zeal for his maj. service and the churches peace and preservation from that spreading gangren of separation, bot, on the contrary, a greater growth of disaffection and untowardness is observed in those parts, which it is naturallie to be presumed might be easilie prevented and obviated by your lordship's endeavours and

interest, if you should use them as you ought ; let the opinions of people in these maters be what the infusions they have from pragmatick ministers and others can make them, yet sure, subjects living under the protection of the king and his lawes may be found in their practice to pay deference to the king's pleasure, and honour of the lawes. If I had, I say, represented these aggravations, and other I could mention, I had sayed nothing for which there was not just caus, or you could in reason complain of, as an ill office done your lordship. I having before told you of what had come to my ears, and particularlie of your giving offence by that communion, which you did then and still seem to justifie, I had done nothing unbeseeing the duetie of my place, which, by the appointment of the king and law, and I think by the institution of God, layes upon me the chief inspection and care of the concernments and reputation of the settled religion in that precinct, and of the deportment and carriage of all persons in reference thereunto ; bot my respect and kyndness to your lordship, made me forbear, and now I tell you them that you may know (that) I am not ignorant how the king's authoritie and the reputation of his ecclesiastick officers and lawes are dealt with in that part of the countrey, and that I cannot look upon the keeping of these factious meetings, the countenancing and owning disorderlie ministers in their unwarrantable prayers and preachings and extravagant carriage, the little regarding the quiet and credit of the settled order of the church as so slight occasions and indifferent maters as some doe take them to be. And I hope that since his maj. as your lordship sayes, has ordained this form of church government, and by that intrusted us, his bishops, with the keeping of his subjects in peace and obedience, from schisms and factions, in the way proper for our functions, your lordship will not think us such fools, as when we know, and apparentlie see, a faction daily emboldening themselves, some

on pretence of obligations and conscience, others may think it is their interest, to contemn the lawes, to oppose our face and authoritie, to bring our persons into contempt and lifying, whom yet, through the mercie of God, our adversaries cannot charge with corruption of doctrine, or scandal life, that wee, through timiditie or other base respects or adulterie to specious professions, will suffer ourselves to be odwinked to be unfaithfull to the trust put upon us, to the interest which should be dearer to us then our lives, so as to keep silence, or say to the king that it is well with his authoritie and government ecclesiastical when alienation from it is mented, and affronts are dailie acted, and no remedie actually used by those, who may and should (if they would) suppress the opposition and spirit, which if it doe not part from its known principles and practices, must endeavour the ruining of other public concerns as that of the church.

“My lord, I write thus in a private manner to your lordship, not intending to communicat it to any other, bot to let you know I am not of such a prostituted spirit and way, as you by your dealing with me seem to take me to be, and that I have not seen those characters and impressions of you, which your way as to the publick concern of the church hitherto might have given just occasion to; I never did you any ill office: I remember the occasions I have taken to doe you good offices before my master the king and other his officers. I profess I have been obliged by your civilities to me of many years, and if I knew wherein I have failed of deserving well of you, I would be a more severe challenger of myself than you can be. You charge me with breach of promise, as to a recommendation of you; I remember none bot that (which) I made when you did me the honour to see me last in this place, which that I did accordinglie perform, my lord commissioner will do me the right to bear testimonie. I am not so sillie,

bot I apprehend what low thoughts you have of anie favour I am capable of, can signifie to you; bot I know not the friend who can say I have been wanting to him, when opportunitie or power to doe a good office hath been offered. You profess loyaltie and faithfulness to his maj. and readiness to serve him against all his enemies, domestick or foreign. Upon the knowledge I have of a long tyme had of you, I doe you the right as to believe you are heartie and real in it, and doe crave that you will doe me the right to believe, that my place, my principles, my interest, doe oblige me to all the sincere service I can make to those who are faithful and zealous for the royal interest, and the rights of the crown, especially of those who by their pairts, worth, and publick usefulness, can be verie instrumental against the manie adversaries in this church and the kingdom of that soveraigntie, which the law declares to be inherent in Charles II.; in the maintaining and promoting of which, experience proves that no persons are more concerned then those of the nobilitie. Let the king's ecclesiastick supremacie be owned and asserted by practice as well as by profession, and wee of the clergie shall have no caus to complain, nor can wee give just caus of grievance to others, seeing the exercise of our power is ordered by the king, and regulated by the lawes. My lord, your practises I never accused to anie, as tainted with disloyaltie or dishonour. If the staining of mine be meant by those compliances you mention, you know I have as little caus to be ashamed of my deportment as to the usurpers, and as great reason to bless God for the deutie and services I have paid throughout my whole course to the royal interest as anie of my condition within the kingdom. I know what I have been, what through grace I am; I can through the goodness of God bid defiance to all, who have ane ill eye to me, to charge me justlie with anie disingenuous, unworthie art, and in the comfort hereof I can patientlie bear all the smytngs of the tongues which Providence shall per-

mit to exercise me by, hoping that all these railings shall be ordered for my good.

“For your principle, my lord, as to church-government, supposing that my employment and way of life hath given me more leisure and opportunitie to consider of it then your lordship hath done, I shall tell you that my principles as to the form of government are not as arbitrary as you profess yours to be; and if you had the same persuasions to the derivation and right of Episcopacie which I have, I know the king would not judge you the worse subject for it, his maj. holding it to be *jure divino*, as his royal father and grandfather did, nor can any other upon good reason think it, the holding of Episcopacie to be of apostolical institution and approbation doeth infer a derogation in the least degree to that supreme power Ecclesiastical, which by the law is established, and by the doctrine of our church acknowledged to be inherent in the crown. Your lordship’s æconomical power, as father and master of your own familie, is from heaven, of God, and not of man; yet in the exercise of that power you are subjected to the power, jurisdiction, and lawes of your sovereign, and it will be hard to give a clear reason of difference why the Ecclesiastical power, because it claimeth to be of divyne right, should be therefore thought to be injurious to regal power, and the other (though claiming in the same manner) not to be. It is well your lordship professeth Episcopal government to be the best; the law sayes so, and as it is now settled in Scotland to be well ordered, though some, who did observe it, told me that your lordship was the alone nobleman upon that bench, who gave your NO to the act for restitution of that order, which was renewed in the last session of parliament. The measure I would take in these maters of all Scotsmen, is, that when the public constitution of church and state are now settled legally, their conscience and concernment does oblige to pay deference to the

public judgement of the kingdom, and sacrifice their privat opinion in these maters to the peace of the church and honour of the lawes, and to give to Cæsar that which the law declares to be his, in the observing and not violating of which the interest of our order, as well as of the other orders of the kingdom, will be preserved, and the true interest and repute of Scotland will be best served. Pardown all this trouble you have in return to your two last from,

“ May it please your lordship,

“ Your humble servant,

“ St. Andrews,

“ St. Andrews.”*

“ 22d November, 1665.”

1666. Among the Episcopal papers, there is a letter from the Earl of Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, dated the 30th January, 1666 ; in which the former promises that no one shall be preferred to any vacant see without the approbation of the primate. The system of banishing the Presbyterian ministers to different parts of the country, was the means of impregnating those parts with disaffection to both the civil and Ecclesiastical government. Of this Dr. Patterson, Bishop of Ross, complained to the primate, intimating that the “ westland gentlemen have alienated the hearts of many who were of another principle before, being the staple of intelligence between the west and the north, among the fanatic

* MS. A. 4. Copy of an original letter, among the papers in the Episcopal chest, Aberdeen, said to be in the primate's own handwriting.

party ; and begs these gentlemen may be recalled, that they spread not their infection any more.* The council directed letters of citation against John Welsh and Gabriel Semple, two ministers, who convened vast gatherings of the disaffected for political purposes. Wodrow very charitably accuses the Bishop of Galloway of instigating the council to this measure, upon no better authority than his own suspicion :—"at the instigation *probably* of the Bishop of Galloway." The citation states, that these and others, "presume to keep conventicles and private meetings, and presume to preach ; and in their sermons and conferences traduce, reflect upon, and *declare against authority, and the government civil and ecclesiastical*, as it is established by law in church and state." It was therefore on account of the seditious practices of these men and their followers, that the government attempted to suppress their meetings, and not on account of their religion.

Wodrow admits that, "In the beginning of this year, Presbyterian ministers had some connivance, and were permitted to live in their hired houses, when turned out of their livings." This shows that those who were disposed to live peaceably were undisturbed ; it was only those

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 3.

turbulent and disaffected ministers who gathered seditious meetings that were brought to any trouble. "The call of the importunate multitude was not yet so great as afterwards, and generally they only preached to their own families and a few neighbours, who now and then stole into their houses. Field-preachings, unless it were in some few places in the south, where the people would not hear the curates, were but very rare. The meetings of the Episcopal ministers in cities and towns, except when they were openly profane and vicious, were as much frequented as they could well expect. Indeed, evils grew among them, and their impertinent and reproachful sermons, their open share in the cruelties and oppression, with their lewd lives, quickly after this altered matters." * This is one of the many incidental admissions, which are to be met with in Wodrow, of the respect and esteem in which the established Episcopal clergy were held. He cannot, however, refrain from adding those false accusations, in accordance with his instructions, of cruelty, lewdness, &c., with which the memories of those men have been ever since most unjustly assailed. Then he goes on to copy from Kirkton: "At this time, if they (the Episcopal clergy) could have been satisfied with the num-

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 8.

bers of hearers they had, many thought they might have enjoyed their churches longer than they did : but they would have as throng churches as the Presbyterian ministers formerly had ; and if regard to their persons and sermons could not procure hearers, it is resolved terror, force, and fear shall.* It may be easily gathered from this, when stripped of its malignity, that the Episcopal church was not obnoxious to the quiet and peaceable, even in the associated shires, the strong-hold of the Covenant. There were men high in power, whose interest it was to keep Charles's government in continual agitation, and they secretly encouraged the disaffected ministers to hold political conventicles, where, under colour of preaching, seditious principles were inculcated, and where the men were accustomed to meet in arms. It was this species of sedition which was the terror of government, and to put down which so many rigorous measures were adopted, many of which were certainly incompatible with the liberty of the subject. These seditious meetings, and the severities which they compelled the civil government to adopt, united to the system of "enormous lying," and which has been persevered in by their apologists, are what has brought such unjust and undeserved odium on the Episcopal

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 8. Kirkton, p. 221.

church. Notwithstanding this system of "enormous lying," these authors are compelled sometimes to admit the truth, although with their own qualifications. "To give every man *his due*, he (Archbishop Burnet,) was certainly one of the best morals among the present clergy. He was a mighty bigot for the English ceremonies and forms, and as forward to have all the usages of that church introduced to Scotland, as if he had been educated by Bishop Laud; yea, to have his fancy pleased with these pageantries, he could have *almost* submitted to the old claim of the see of York over the Church of Scotland. At his first diocesan meeting, he put five or six of his curates publicly in orders, after the English pontifical, to inure the west of Scotland to these novelties."* It is rather surprising, that ordination, after the manner practised in England, should be objected to, when even the Westminster Confession itself acknowledges its validity.†

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 8. Kirkton, p. 221.

† "If a minister be designed to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained Presbyter *according to the form of ordination* which hath been in the Church of England, *which we hold for substance to be valid*, and not to be disclaimed by any who hath received it, then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, *let him be admitted without any new ordination*."—"The Form of Church Government," appended to the Westminster Confession, &c. p. 591.

But the fact is, that these authors seize on every trifle with the greatest avidity, in order to rouse a spirit of hatred and malice in the minds of their readers against the then established church. All the rigorous proceedings of the civil government were laid to the charge of the curates, as they called the clergy in contempt. Even the fines imposed by parliament soon after the Restoration, and which were very oppressive and unequally levied, were said to have been imposed by the clergy : “ these fynes imposed by the curats ; ” * as if the clergy had been the makers of the laws, and, at the same time, the executive government. This is part of that system of “ enormous lying,” and which has hitherto worked so effectually, *ad captandum vulgus*.

In the early part of the summer, Archbishop Sharp went to London, in company with the Earl of Rothes. His motives for this journey are, of course, represented as of the most despotic and sanguinary nature : “ no way was now left but that of violence, which was not disagreeable to his haughty and proud temper.” This is more of the same system ; and the primate is accused, without the least shadow of evidence, of having procured from Charles the appointment of a standing army, “ to bear down Presbyterians and

* Kirkton, p. 222.

cut their throats, when many of them were now impoverished as much as possible. The king is prevailed upon to fall in with his proposal, and gives orders to levy an army for *guarding the prelates*, executing arbitrary commands, and suppressing the fanatics."* The last of the three causes was the true one, of "suppressing the fanatics;" but such an opportunity could not be lost, of throwing the odium on the Episcopal order, and especially on the primate. Burnet also seizes on this opportunity of injuring the archbishop, towards whom he bore a secret grudge. "When Lord Rothes and he waited first on the king, Sharp put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it but either the Earl of Lauderdale or Rothes; and now he came to tell his majesty that things were worse than ever, and he must do the Earl of Rothes the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord Lauderdale was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the king; so he only desired that Sharp would come to particulars, and then he should know what he had to say. Sharp put that off in a general charge, and said he knew the party so well, that if they were not supported by general encouragement, they would

* Kirkton, p. 225. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 13.

have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The king had no mind to enter further into their complaints, so Lord Rothes and he withdrew, and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another as they went away. Lord Lauderdale told the king he was now accused to his face, but he would quickly let him see what a man Sharp was ; so he obtained a message from the king to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and come to particulars. He followed Sharp home, who received him with such a gaiety, as if he had given him no provocation ; but Lord Lauderdale was more solemn, and told him it was the king's pleasure, that he should put the accusation with which he charged him in writing. Sharp pretended he did not comprehend his meaning : he answered, the matter was plain ; he had accused him to the king, and he must either go through with it and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leaseing-making, and spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, Sharp fell a trembling and weeping : he protested he meant no harm to him ; he was only sorry that his friends were, upon all occasions, pleading for favour to fanatics (that was become the term of reproach.) Lord Lauderdale said, that would not serve his turn ; he was not answerable for his

friends, except when they acted by directions from him. Sharp offered to go directly with him to the king, and to clear the whole matter. Lord Lauderdale had no mind to break openly with him, so he accepted of this, and carried him to the king, where he retracted all he had said in so gross a manner, that the king said afterwards, Lord Lauderdale was ill-natured to press it so heavily, and to force Sharp on giving himself the lie in such coarse terms.

“ This went to Sharp’s heart ; so he made a proposal to the Earl of Dumfries, who was a great friend of the Earl of Middleton’s, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of Rothes ; and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord Rothes. Lord Dumfries went into Kent, where the Lord Middleton was then employed in a military command on the account of the war ; and he laid Sharp’s proposition before him. The Earl of Middleton gave Lord Dumfries power to treat in his name, but said, he knew Sharp too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord Dumfries came back, Sharp had tried Lord Rothes, but found he would not meddle in it ; and they both understood that the Earl of Clarendon’s interest was declining, and that the king was like to change his measures. So when Lord Dumfries came back, to give Sharp an account of

his negociation, he seemed surprised, and denied he had given him any such commission. This enraged the Earl of Dumfries, so he published the thing in all companies; among others he told it, very particularly, to myself." *

Notwithstanding its plausibility, this story does not hang well together, but partakes considerably of the bishop's private resentment. The primate was not such a simple politician as to bring himself under the arbitrary statute of lease-making, by accusing Lauderdale before his face of secretly encouraging the disaffected, when he could not prove it. This is, however, cited with much approbation by Dr. Burns, in his edition of Wodrow's History; who calls it "an exceedingly graphic description of these *parasitical plunderers*, who were alike *faithless to God*, to their king, and to one another." If "the Lord Middleton" here spoken of was Charles, Earl of Middleton, son and successor of the late commissioner, he would have been too young to have been entrusted with a military command at that time, or a responsible office in the government. Indeed, this story is altogether unworthy of credit, and should not have been noticed, but for the

* Burnet's Own Times, pp. 311, 312.

malignant party spirit in which Dr. Burns* has given it currency.

In addition to the former military strength, two regiments of foot, and six troops of horse were raised, altogether amounting to three thousand foot, and eight troops of horse; and the command was given to Thomas Dalzell, of Binns. On the 8th of June, the council ordered a general fast to be observed, on account of the war with Holland. At the same time, the council directed that in all the universities, before being admitted to honorary degrees, the students shall take the oath of allegiance. In October, the privy council were commanded by the king to take care that the laws and acts of state be vigorously prosecuted against all contraveners, and with greatest severity against those who are known to be most pernicious adversaries to the peace of the church. The royal letter also required the council to make all proprietors and landlords answerable for the orderly conduct of their servants and

* Would the learned editor of Wodrow think it a charitable conclusion, were the world to say that the man who *prosecuted* in the name of his Presbytery, a *brother minister*, for partaking of a political dinner with Daniel O'Connell, and himself soon after partaking of another with Sir Robert Peel, in the same city—" *was a parasitical plunderer, alike faithless to God, to the queen, and to one another,*"—*eh?*

nants. Robert Blair, a Presbyterian minister, died in confinement, says Kirkton, "full of hope that the Lord would deliver Scotland, and very confident God would *rub shame* upon Bishop Sharp, as it were to pass." This was one of those prophecies which darkly foreshadowed the murderous designs of the primate's enemies, which would appear to have been contemplated so long before the sad catastrophe. In September this year, the fire of London happened. The preachers of the Covenant had created such a spirit of insubordination in the people, that it was necessary to quarter a few soldiers in the disaffected districts. Soldiers living at free-quarters will be guilty of many acts of individual tyranny; and it would appear those under the command of Sir James Turner had used excessive rigour in the execution of their duty. This produced an irritability among the people, which was fostered by the preachers of the Covenant and political adventurers, in conjunction with the king's enemies in Holland.

In consequence of the irritability that the civil liberties and military executions, which they saw on themselves, produced, an insurrection broke out in Galloway, in November. Sir James Turner sent four soldiers from Dumfries to the village of Dalry, in Galloway, with instructions to seize the goods of a Covenanter who had defied the law; or in the event of his having no

goods, to secure his person. It is said that in the wanton exercise of power the soldiers seized both his person and his goods, on the 14th of November. Some neighbours interfered, fired at, and severely wounded one of the soldiers, disarmed the others, and rescued the prisoner. Elated by this trifling success the country-people collected, surprised and disarmed some other parties of soldiers, and hurrying forward to Dumfries, made Turner himself prisoner. They secured his papers and his military-chest, containing a sum of money sent from Edinburgh and the collection of fines, for paying his men. They entrusted the chest to one Andrew Gray, who absconded, and carried off the money with him. On their arrival at Dumfries they searched for the Episcopal clergyman, for the purpose of wreaking their vengeance on him, but he escaped their fury. They retreated in haste that night to Glencairn, and thence to Castle Ferne. On the 16th they came to the village of Dalry, but on an alarm that Lord Drumlanrig was advancing to attack them, they pushed on eight miles further to Carsphairne, in a very dark and rainy night.* They were joined by some gentlemen with their retainers, and marched to Ayr, where their numbers amounted to about three thousand. “ Their mis-

* Note to Kirkton's Hist. p. 232.

taken hopes made them expect, that when they came to that country all the gentry *and ministers* should presently join them ; but when they came thither, they find major-general Montgomerie and the Laird of Gadgirth were both gone to meet Dalzell, at Eglinton, and the ministers living quietly in their families. This offended the Colonel's party very much, that friends in the country should be so little concerned."*

Lord Rothes was then at court, and represented Scotland as being in a perfect state of tranquillity. Charles surprised him by showing him an express which had arrived, mentioning the particulars of the insurrection. At home, the council was dreadfully alarmed, and fancied the forces of the Covenanters to be much more formidable than they really were. General Dalzell was ordered to concentrate the king's troops at Glasgow, and thence to march against the rebels. Orders were issued for the nobility to call out their tenants, and on the 21st, a severe proclamation was issued, commanding the rebels to lay down their arms, but without offering any indemnity. It said " that if they do not lay down their arms in twenty-four hours, they shall be proceeded against as incorrigible and desperate rebels, and be incapable of mercy or pardon."

* Kirkton, p. 235.

Burnet says, that the chief agents in assembling this ill-assorted army were four fiery ministers, Semple, Maxwell, Welsh, and Guthrie. The chief of the Presbyterian gentry were then under confinement for former delinquencies, so that they had no concern in this rebellion. They were disappointed of being commanded by Major-general Montgomery, and they chose a Mr. Wallace for their commander-in-chief. Turner was still in their power, and many of the chief rebels had determined to put him to death; but he was spared when they discovered by his instructions that he had not acted up to their rigour. Indeed he himself declares positively, in his Memoirs, that he never exacted more than one-half of his fine from any Covenanter. At Muir Kirk, the propriety of disbanding was seriously debated; but which was over-ruled, as the ministers alleged that "the Lord had called them to this undertaking." On their arrival at Lanark their forces were at their greatest compliment; from that time they began insensibly to dwindle away. Here Guthrie and Semple administered to the whole party the oath of the Covenant on the 26th, and observed a solemn fast to atone for what they called the national perjury of making void the Covenant. Here Mr. Lowrie, of Blackwood, came from the Duke of Hamilton to ascertain their demands, and to propose their

laying down their arms. His proposals were rejected, and he himself ran some risk of being arrested.

General Dalzell came within sight of the Covenanters on the same day, and they held a council, whether it were more prudent to fight him there, as in the event of their being defeated, they could more easily make their escape than in the low country. It was otherwise determined, and they began their march for Edinburgh on the 27th. They reached Bathgate that night, wet and weary, and could find no quarters for their men. At midnight, on a false alarm of Dalzell's approach, they marched for Collinton, and were overtaken by emissaries from the Duke of Hamilton. These proposed, for the third time, that they should lay down their arms, promising to procure their pardon, as they had already secured for them a cessation of hostilities on the part of Dalzell, who was then at Midcalder, within ten miles of their rear. This they unhappily rejected; but finding themselves between a well-appointed army in their rear, and a fortified town in their front, where they were deceived into expecting assistance, they resolved on a retreat. Previous to their retreat, Wallace wrote to Dalzell representing the oppressions and grievances of the Covenanters, and desiring a passport for their commissioner to present their petition to the

privy council. "Blackwood returned to Dalzell, and was by him sent to attend the council with his own letters, and the west-country men's grievances. But notwithstanding this imperfect treaty, Wallace and his party now at length resolve upon the retreat, and thereupon, turning the east-end of Pentland-hills, they take the way to Biggar."* Wallace seems to have been destitute of military knowledge; for he deliberately marched into a position where escape or retreat was scarcely possible. Instead of finding friends and supporters in Edinburgh and the Lothians, he ascertained to his dismay that the whole fencible forces of the country were arrayed against him, Edinburgh fortified, and the College of Justice and inhabitants armed, and ready to give him battle. To complete the misery of his situation, an arm of the sea rendered escape impossible on the left, a ridge of high hills lay on his right, a garrison-town in his front, and the royal army within five miles of his rear. Although he might have spared the lives of his hungry and heartless men, and himself the mortification of a defeat, yet he resolved not to wait the result of the negotiation which had been humanely entered into. He judged it better to retreat; but whether with the view of protracting the war, or of leading

* Kirkton, p. 242.

his men back and dismissing them to their homes, does not appear. In the interim, the council determined not to accept the proposals of the Covenanters, as being unsatisfactory; but "if they should lay down their arms, and come to your excellency within the time appointed, they might petition for mercy."*

All hopes of obtaining terms being now at an end, Wallace resolved to retreat. "Colonel Wallace and his men, notwithstanding of this imperfect sort of treaty, resolve on the best retreat they can, for their own safety and sustenance in the meantime; and turning by the east end of Pentland-hills, they resolve on the way to Biggar. From Collinton they march to the house in the Muir; and from thence to the fatal spot called the Rullion-green, where they draw up the dispirited remains of an army, not exceeding nine hundred, weary, spent men."† Dalzell was then close on their rear, and an engagement was now unavoidable. Wallace drew up his men in three divisions. Under a low shoulder of the hill to the south on Rullion-green, he posted a small body of cavalry; in the centre were the foot, very poorly armed, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue, under his own command; on the left, the

* Council's Letter to Dalzell. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 30.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 30.

chief body of his horse, under the command of a major Learmonth. So little attention does Wallace appear to have paid to the motions of his adversary, that Dalzell had got within a quarter of a mile of his position undiscovered. The first appearance of the royal cavalry was even supposed to have been a friendly reinforcement. He was quickly, however, undeceived. Dalzell commenced the engagement by attacking his left wing, which Learmonth repulsed and drove down the hill in confusion. In this rencontre John Crookshanks and Andrew Maccormick, two *preachers* from Ireland, “and the *great instruments to persuade* the people to this undertaking,” were among the slain. Dalzell rallied and again advanced and attacked the main body of the insurgents, but was again repulsed, and pursued down the hill. Dalzell rallied his broken ranks, and advanced his left wing, consisting of cavalry, upon the right wing of Wallace’s army, which being weak, he easily routed. By this charge he turned Wallace’s right, and getting into his rear, attacked the victorious main-body, which being broken by their charge on the right-wing of the retreating royalists, took to flight, and could never be rallied. It was almost dark on the night of the 28th of November, when the Covenanters dispersed ; “and the horsemen who had made the chase, being most part gentlemen, pitied their

own innocent countrymen. There were about fifty killed, and as many taken of Wallace's men, and five or six of Dalzell's. The country people were very cruel, both in killing the fleeing men, and taking many prisoners."* If Kirkton's accusation be true, that the country people were so cruel, it is a convincing proof, though an unnecessary one, that they were neither enamoured of Presbytery nor of the Covenant.

The Covenanters, although fatigued, dispirited and weak, for want of food, maintained their position with a gallantry and courage worthy of a better cause. Their chief deficiency was in officers, there not being more than half of the requisite number; and even of those there were not above four or five who had ever seen service before.† In the relation of this fight an attempt is made to show that Dalzell, being in league with the devil, was bullet-proof: "it was commonly believed he was in covenant with the devil," because a bullet was seen to drop from his breast, on his boot; but it should be recollected that he wore a cuirass, which would effectually turn a bullet, without the aid of the devil, or of witchcraft. "Welsh, the minister, during the fight, prayed with uplifted hands to the Lord of

* Kirkton, p. 244.

† Note to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 24.

hosts against Amalek, (as his spirit moved him to miscall the royal forces,) and had his hands stayed up by some of his brethren, as Moses had his by Aaron and Hur." "Sir James Turner does not mention this circumstance; but says, that during the engagement he and his guards were removed from a hill, on which they had originally been posted, 'and by the way we met with Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple, who were going to take that advantage of ground which we formerly had, and by doing so, I thought both of them had provided indifferently well for their own safety.' After ascending the hill, when the ministers imagined that their friends gained any advantage, they shouted out 'The God of Jacob! The God of Jacob!' which was re-echoed by Turner's guards. The *prudent* conduct of Welsh and Semple is strongly contrasted by that of the two preachers from Ireland, who fought courageously, and were left dead on the field of battle."* An instance of the fanaticism of the Covenanting ministers, and the familiarity with which they addressed the Almighty, may be gathered from Sir James Turner's Memoirs. Robinson said in his prayer, "And if thou wilt not be our secondarie, we will not fight for thee at all; for

* Notes to Kirkton, &c. p. 245, 246.

it is not our cause, but thine own; and if thou wilt not fight for it, neither will we.”*

Both Kirkton and Wodrow accuse the people of great cruelties towards the discomfited Covenanters. The former says: “Of all Scotland, only Mid Lothian was cruel: they took many prisoners, killed some, and were some of them so barbarous as to unbury them, that they might rob them of their winding-sheets, in which the honest people of Edinburgh had buried them; yet even in that country many were kind to them; Alexander Pennicook, that famous surgeon, harboured some and cured many: *yea, even among the curates, some had so much of a man as to preserve some of them.*”† “Thus,” says the latter historian, “was the body of good people broken and dissipated. It was next to a wonder, and can scarce be accounted for, except from the *goodness of their cause*, that they were so brave on this day of their defeat, if either the constitution or circumstances of such an army be considered. They were but a small handful of untrained, undisciplined countrymen who had never seen war; they had very few officers, and these had little authority. Every private man in such a gathering, readily must either be let into the secrets of the council of war, otherways,

* Memoirs, p. 186.

† Kirkton, p. 246, 7.

he is in hazard of clamouring his neighbours in the company into a mutiny.”* Although Wodrow carefully copies Kirkton’s remarks on the barbarity of the people, yet he omits to notice the kindness of the clergy. Wallace, in his *Memoirs*, says: “There were about fifty prisoners; but by accession of those whom the Lothian barbarians had taken, there were, within two or three days thereafter, about eighty prisoners.”—“Only the three Lothians were very active in and about the time of the skirmish; and after, in the flight, took many more than Dalzell’s men did, and killed several also in their escaping; for which they may look for a scourge in due time, for their savage cruelty, from Him in whose sight the blood of the *saints* is precious.”†

The prisoners, fifty in number, were lodged in the gaol of Edinburgh; and about thirty more were brought in the day after by the country people. The following day, the council addressed a letter to the king, informing him of the defeat of the rebels and of their intended “speedy proceedings, according to the laws against traitors.” At the same time, they express their apprehension, that the seditious spirit which gave rise to

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Wallace’s *Narrative of the Rising of Pentland*, pp. 425, 429.

the late insurrection, was deeply imbibed by many, and who were disaffected to his majesty's government. The letter is signed by the primate, as interim president of the council in Lord Rothes' absence, and by thirteen privy councillors.

The case of the prisoners came under the cognizance of the privy council, where the question was agitated, whether by their receiving quarter in the field, it was understood that their lives were to be spared. It was alleged that the Covenanters came only to petition the council without any intention of overturning the government; but M'Kenzie maintains, "That all rising in arms, upon any pretext whatsoever, is declared *rebellion* in this and all other nations; and if any should rise now in arms, because free-quarter is taken from them against law, they would find this government (*i. e.* the government of William and Mary) so to take it." "Nor can it be pretended that justice was denied to private petitioners; but on the contrary, Turner and Ballantine were laid aside, which is all the state could do, it being impossible to answer for all the extravagancies of soldiers, even under the most just government. From this likewise it necessarily follows, that because this was no just war, therefore the learned and worthy Sir John Nisbet, then king's advocate, and the criminal judges

were unjustly reproached for refusing to allow the defence founded on giving quarter, that being only to be allowed *in justo bello*. And it is to be remembered, that this defence was not allowed to the worthy president, Sir Robert Spottiswood, son to the famous archbishop, in anno 1645, though the war was just on the king's side, and he acted by virtue of a commission from that very king by whose authority the parliament that condemned him was called; and it could not be proved by those that were taken at Pentland-hills, that quarter was granted them; whereas it was clearly proved, that the council in general had discharged granting of quarter upon the aforesaid account. We pass under silence here, the dreadful slaughter of several hundreds, killed after free-quarter given, and surrendering of the castle of Dunvileigh (which made Lieutenant-general Leslie, who then commanded the army, threaten to lay down his commission,) notwithstanding of a violent sermon made before him upon these words: 'What meaneth then this bleating, &c. ;' that is, this noise of prisoners yet preserved alive. So the preacher applied his doctrine." *

The popular odium of the whole of this affair fell solely on Archbishop Sharp. Indeed, it

* Sir G. M'Kenzie's Vindication, 8vo., pp. 10, 11.

would appear, from the exaggerations of his enemies, as if the whole powers of the privy council and the crown itself had been wielded by his single arm; whereas he had only one vote amongst fourteen or fifteen counsellors. The question respecting the prisoners being allowed the privilege of quarter was submitted to the law-officers of the crown and the judges. The Lord Lee, one of the judges, decided that, "though the prisoners had the soldiers' quarter in the field; yet it prejudiced not their trial by law." This decision is, of course, very charitably set down as intended to please "the blood-thirsty bishops." * Wodrow is more particular, and says:—"Bishop Sharp the president, pushed violently the prosecution and execution of the prisoners; and indeed his blood-thirsty temper at this time made him very odious. I am *well informed*," (his general authority,) "that *after* some of them were condemned and *a few executed*, a letter came down from the king, discharging taking any more lives. This letter came to the primate as president, and ought to have been by him communicated to the council; but the blood-thirsty man kept it up, till as many as he had a mind were despatched." † On the 4th of December, eleven were tried and condemned. Sir

* Kirkton, p. 248.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

George Lockhart, Sir George Mackenzie, William Maxwell, and Robert Dickson, advocates, were appointed as their counsel. The prisoners were executed at Edinburgh on the 7th and 11th of December; and some others were condemned and executed on the 22d. Four of these received a pardon on the terms proposed by the king, viz.: *a promise to obey the laws* for the time to come. Rothes, president of the council, afterwards made a tour through the disaffected counties, having a quorum of the privy council along with him, and several executions took place at Ayr and Glasgow. Nicol says, "The general (Dalzell) having marched towards the west, he took and killed sundry persons called the Whiggs, and brought into the town of Edinburgh sundry prisoners, and upon the seventh day of December, presented them to the privy council, who caused execute, hangit, heidit, and quarterit ten of these persouns at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh; others of them were callit in the buttis quho war crewellie tormentit." *

Archbishop Burnet arrived from London, and it is said was the bearer of a letter from the king to the privy council; who approved of all the measures which they had adopted; but added, that he thought there had been blood enough already

* Diary, p. 452.

shed. He therefore ordered that such of the prisoners as should *promise to obey the laws* for the future, should be set at liberty, and the incorrigible sent to the plantations. Four accepted these terms and were discharged; but the greater part justified their rebellion, and refused to promise obedience to the laws. It would have been more magnanimous had the proceedings been less sanguinary than they were; but the attachment of the prisoners to a perpetual source of rebellion—the Covenant, made the government afraid that the same cherished principles would produce the same bloody effects.

Of all the sufferers in this rebellion, none has produced such a clamour against the primate as the execution of M'Kail, a minister. Kirkton says :—"He was a proper youth, learned, travelled, and *extraordinarily pious!*" He was engaged in the rebellion, and supposed to have been deep in the secrets of the ringleaders. He was examined before the privy council, and was, by order of Rothes, president of the council, who had returned from London, severely tortured on the 4th of December. Previous to his examination, he addressed a paper to the council, in which he acknowledged that he had been with the insurgents, and had borne arms; but denied all knowledge of there being a plot for inviting the invasion of a foreign enemy. It is certain,

however, that there was such a plot; and which is admitted by one who was present at the action of Rullion Green.* The council urged M'Kail to confess the particulars of this secret treaty with the Dutch, and who were the ringleaders at home. It is painful to think that Rothes ordered him to be tortured, but nothing was elicited. M'Kail's brother, a physician, afterwards solicited the primate to intercede for his life; which he promised to do, provided he would discover the secret of the plot. "Matthew M'Kail, the brother, spoke to him, and the archbishop desired him to assure Mr. Hew, that he would befriend him if he would reveal the mystery of the plot;" but, says M'Cree, "there was indeed a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done."†

M'Kail was tried before the High Court of Justiciary. "At the bar, he spoke of the ties and engagements that were upon the land to God; and having commended the institution, dignity, and blessing of Presbyterian government, he said that the last words of the National Covenant had always great weight on his spirit. Whereupon the king's advocate interrupted him, and desired

* Veitch's Memoirs, edited by Dr. M'Cree, p. 378.

† Note to Veitch's Memoirs, p. 36.

he would forbear that discourse, '*since he was not called in question for his persuasion, but for the crime of rebellion*, in rising in arms against his majesty's authority.' — As for rebellion, M'Kail said, his accession was only simple presence with a sword, and that occasional." * He was condemned for the crimes of treason and rebellion, and was executed on the 22d of December. In his speech on the scaffold, he gloried in his crimes, and asserted "that there can be no greater act of *loyalty* to the king, as the times now go, than for any man to do his *utmost* for the *extirpation* of that abominable plant, prelacy, which, he said, was the bane of the throne and the country."—"And now, he continued, I willingly lay down my life for the truth and cause of God, the *Covenant* and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation; and it was for endeavouring to defend this, and to *extirpate* that bitter root of prelacy that I embrace this rope." After the cap was drawn over his face, he removed it and said;—"Besides the *justness* of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus, when he died, that the angels did carry his soul into Abraham's bosom; so that as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and

* Cruikshank's History, vol. i. p. 231.

people looking out at windows ; so there is a greater and more solemn preparation in heaven, of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom !" *

This is a sample of the spirit in which the infatuated Covenanters lived and died. The same evil spirit pervaded the whole of them ; alas ! it is much to be feared, they knew not of what spirit they were. Of M'Kail's execution, and six others who suffered at the same time, Kirkton acknowledges, that they might have saved their lives by complying with the king's terms ; but they would not. That, however, could hardly be expected from men excited to such a pitch of enthusiasm, and fancying themselves under an obligation to rebellion and murder. "None of them would save their life by taking the declaration, and renouncing the Covenant, though it was *offered to them all* ; all of them died constant, and *justifying* what they had done ;—all of them died cheerfully, and full of hope of salvation ;—all of them died in hope that God would deliver Scotland," †—*i. e.* suffer the bishops to be murdered.

Bishop Burnet, and the other historians of this period, seize with avidity on this execution, to

* Cruikshank's History, vol. i. pp. 235, 237.

† Kirkton, p. 249.

heap odium on the archbishop. Without any proof, he alleges accordingly that the primate suppressed the king's letter; but soon afterwards, he shifts the guilt to the Archbishop of Glasgow. "Mr. M'Kail's death," he says, "was the more cried out on, because it came to be known afterwards, that Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the king, in which he approved of all they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough already shed, and therefore ordered, that such of the prisoners as should *promise to obey the laws* for the future, should be set at liberty; and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations; but *Burnet* (the Archbishop of Glasgow) let the execution go on *before* he produced the letter."* After citing the above, Cruikshanks adds, "But *I am apt to believe*, that *if* Burnet brought the letter from the king, he delivered it into the hands of Sharp, who wickedly and basely concealed it. But however this was, it appears the king was more humane than the bishops."† *If* either of these prelates did as is here only *supposed*, it was certainly a base and wicked act; but that either of them did suppress this letter, or that it was suppressed at all, remains to be

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 348.

† Cruiksh. Hist. vol. i. pp. 220, 221.

proved. Wodrow and Cruikshanks say, this letter came to the primate, *as president* of the council; but it is to be observed, that he was only to act as president during the absence of Rothes. By all the accounts, it appears that Rothes sat as president of the council at M'Kail's examination; and therefore the king's letter came to *him* and *not* to the primate. Again, if either of these three individuals suppressed the royal mercy till *after* the execution, how comes it that they *were* enabled to offer the sufferers that very mercy granted by the king in this mysterious letter? This mercy could not have been offered, if the letter had been suppressed: at all events, these men refused to comply with the conditions of the proffered mercy. Here then we have a grave charge of a most deliberate and cool murder, preferred against the two archbishops, upon no better foundation or proof than the *hearsay* of Wodrow, the *suspicion* of Burnet, and the *apt to believe* of Cruikshanks.* This is part of that system of "enormous lying," which has been so successfully practised against the primate and all the

* Kirkton gives it merely as a *report*, which he himself does not affect to believe; but the others wish it to be believed as an undoubted *fact*. For my own part, I disbelieve the existence of this letter altogether; because a letter, on which that party have laid so much stress, would not have escaped the industry of Wodrow, who is so copious in documents of all sorts. What could possibly have answered his

bishops of Scotland. As a proof of the falsehood of this accusation, Nicol, who was a contemporary, and resided constantly in Edinburgh, does not refer to this letter, or to its suppression; and he could not have been ignorant of it, if it had been true. But, says Cruikshanks, "*however, this was,*" that is, although he deliberately records the foul libel, yet he himself does not believe it. It has, however, effected the object, which he and others intended it should effect, that of blackening the memory of the primate. What can be thought of authors, who can be guilty of handing down to posterity such intentional calumny, and which, alas! has been thoughtlessly credited and repeated by others, who should have known better. "This foul act," says Wodrow, "he (the primate) was justly charged with, by the persons who some years after this took away his life; and when he cried pitifully for mercy, he was told, that as he had never showed mercy to others, so he was to expect none from them."

purpose, of "exaggerating the crimes of his enemies," so well as the real evidence of their guilt, had such evidence existed. In short, this supposititious letter, and the horrible outcry which the party have raised and continued upon it, was a "weak invention," to draw off public indignation from the atrocious guilt of their own friends, and the horrible sentiments which they taught, of deliberate murder, schism, and rebellion, at the foot of the gallows.

We are indebted to the industry of the late Dr. M'Cree, where it was not much to have been expected, for a fact, which will entirely clear the archbishop of this false accusation. In a note to the Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch, he makes a long extract from a MS. in the Advocate's Library, "containing some particulars not generally known."

"The fore-mentioned Mr. Mathew M'Kail, then apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards doctor of medicine, when he heard of his cousin Mr. Hew M'Kail his being taken, and put in prison, went to Mr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to solicit for him. When Mr. Mathew spoke to him, he desired him to assure Mr. Hew that he would befriend him, if he would reveal the mystery of the plot, which he not being able to do, occasioned his torture; but there was *indeed a plot* to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, in July that year; and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done. Upon the Thursday thereafter, the bishop went to St. Andrews, and Mr. Mathew followed him on Friday, but reached only Wemyss that night. After dinner, he arrived at the bishop's house on Saturday, and the servant told that the barber was trimming him, and when he was done, Mr. Mathew would get access. When Mr. Mathew got access, he delivered to the bishop a letter from the Marchioness Douglass, in favour of Mr. Hew, whose brother Mr. Mathew was governor to his son, Lord James Douglass; and another from the bishop's brother, Sir William Sharp his lady: and when he had read them, he said, 'The business is now in the justiciaries' hands, and I can do nothing; but, however, I shall have answers ready against the next morning;' at which time, when Mr. Mathew came, the bishop called his family together,

prayed, and desired Mr. Mathew to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answer; then he went to the church, did preach, and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner, he gave the answers to the letters, and Mr. Mathew said, that he hoped that his travelling that day about so serious a business, would give no offence; to which the bishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr. Mathew went to enquire for his horse, but the stabler's family were all gone to church, so that he could not travel till Monday morning early; and when he came to Buckhaven, the wind being easterly, the fish-boats were coming into the harbour, and he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening, having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who did read it, and then said that the business was in the justiciarie's hands. The next day being Tuesday, Mr. Hew was arraigned before the justice-court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Friday next." *

It appears, therefore, from the above evidence, that so far from suppressing the king's letter, addressed to the president of the council, that the archbishop was actually at St. Andrews. It may likewise not be out of place to notice, the unwilling evidence of an adversary, to the fact of the archbishop's attention to his family devotions, as well as to public preaching. And this corroborates what the author of the "True and

* Note to M'Crie's edit. of Veitch's Life, pp. 35—37.

Impartial Account" says, that he preached regularly every Sunday and holiday. It is curious too to observe, that those men who were thirsting for the archbishop's blood, when, through their crimes their own lives were in jeopardy, they solicited him to interfere with, and to stop the course of justice, in order to save them from the ignominious death which they knew would be awarded them.

We may therefore justly conclude, that this was part of that loyalty which M'Kail recommended; or as John Wilson, another of the rebels who was executed, said in his last speech, "For in my judgment, a man's endeavour to *extirpate* perjured prelates, and abjured prelacy, *according as he is bound by OATH, in a sworn Covenant*, may very well stand with a man's loyalty to king and country; for, I am sure, the king and his subjects may be happy, yea, more happy, in the *extirpation of prelates* and prelacy, than in their standing; yea, the throne shall never be established in peace, until that *wicked plant* be *plucked up by the roots*." The outcry got up against these eminent fathers of the church was one of those pious frauds which, by men of some religious opinions, were thought meritorious. The unhappy sufferers were offered the king's pardon for their treason, on the easy terms of living peaceably, and renouncing the murderous obli-

gations of the Covenant. Four individuals accepted these terms, and were discharged; the others rejected the proffered mercy, and suffered agreeably to their sentences. The blood of these men, therefore, must rest on their own heads; and their guilt was greatly aggravated, by dying not only wholly unrepentant, but absolutely glorying in their treason.

The inconsistency, to give it no worse name, of the author of the History of his Own Times, is very remarkable. By his own account the letter, which is said to have shown the king to be more merciful than the bishops, was actually procured *by the bishops*. Hear what he himself says: "The best of the Episcopal clergy set upon the bishops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming intercessors for the prisoners, and the country that was like to be quartered upon and eaten up, for the favour they had expressed to them; and that many of the bishops went into this; and that Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, showed a very Christian disposition at the time, by sending every day very liberal supplies to the prisoners, which was likewise done by almost the whole town." The king's letter to stop the executions was procured and brought down by the Archbishop of Glasgow, which shows that the bishops were more humane than their enemies will allow. The clergy like-

wise showed their humanity, by entreating their several bishops to petition the king in behalf of these unhappy dupes of jesuitical intrigue. The alleged suppression of the king's letter, if indeed there was such a letter, is mentioned by Kirkton *merely as a report*; but it is taken up by Wodrow, and, of course, by others, as as an *undeniable fact*. Nicol, who was a contemporary, does not mention nor even allude to such a disgraceful transaction. He says, "upone the 22d day of December, 1666, ther was six men hangit at Edinburgh Croce, commonlie callit the Whiggs; quhairof Mr. Hew M'Kail, expectant minister, was on, and Umphra Colquhoun, merchand in Glasgow, was ane uther, with other four, quho all of them pretendit they died 'for GOD and the Covenant!'"* The severities which were inflicted on the rebels were the consequences of their own disloyalty and treason. No government would have passed over such a rebellion, without some examples; and none could have been more proper objects than men taken with arms in their hands on the field of battle, and who justified their treason, except the secret instigators. Rising in arms is accounted rebellion in every country, whatever may be the pretext. The field-preachings were the rendezvouses of rebellion;

* Nicol's Diary, p. 452.

and their *preachers* were always foremost in acts of treason, and therefore the government prohibited them. Unmerited and most unjust odium has been heaped on the primate : as a privy counselor, his share in the proceedings of that arbitrary court was not greater than that of the other members ; indeed, his biographers say it was much “ less, as appeared plainly from his conduct in many places and diets, as his attendance at the council only on necessary occasions, his declining to move questions to several criminals, his patience under their open reproaches and indecencies, and his absenting himself in time of torture.” *

“ But those,” he continues, “ who adhered rigidly to the Covenant, as affairs then stood, were no less enemies to the state than to the church, and thought that the former’s protecting the latter dissolved their allegiance and obedience to authority. So that acts of Parliament were contravened, illegal meetings and conventicles held and resorted to, the Covenant preached up and renewed, barbarous indignities offered to the persons of ministers and others, and the government baffled and insulted. These growing evils called for a cure ; and the methods in order to it, were

* True and Impartial Account,

so far from being effectual, that the discontented party became thereby more violent and outrageous. For now they broke forth into open rebellion, took up arms in great numbers, gave a defiance to the government, renewed their Covenant afresh, and going on furiously in their blind career, used all hostilities and cruelties against the king's good subjects, as if it had been in a lawful war. But a check was speedily given to their unaccountable extravagancies; for they were encountered by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland-hills, in anno 1666. Though the courses then taken (all circumstances being considered) were such as no society or government could avoid that had any regard to its own security and preservation; yet such was the malice and unreasonableness of the party, that all the measures and proceedings of the state (how necessary soever) were branded with the hardest names that a misled zeal and violent principles could vomit up. And the bishops were loaded with the reproach of all; as if the officers of state, council-board, and supreme courts of justice had been only filled with them; or, as if they, had their inclinations so disposed them, could have influenced so many wise and learned judges. Though we must not dissemble, that *two great men*, who had the *chief* management, did over-

act in some things, on purpose to bring an *odium* upon the clergy, which gave great encouragement to their enemies." *

Bishop Burnet informs us that Bishop Wishart, though a rough man and sharpened by ill-usage, yet upon this occasion expressed a very Christian temper, such as became one who had felt what the rigour of a prison had been ; for he sent every day very liberal supplies to the prisoners : which was indeed done by the whole town, in so bountiful a manner that many of them, who being shut up, and having neither air nor exercise, were in greater danger by their plenty than they had been by all their unhappy campaign." † George Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, was of the family of Logie, in the county of Angus. He first was minister of North Leith, but was deposed by the Covenanters in 1638, for refusing to take the Covenant. The insurgents who were then in possession of the government, discovered that he had corresponded with the royalists, and in consequence they plundered him of all his goods, and imprisoned him in Haddo's-hole. Haddo's-hole, or the thieves'-hole, was the nastiest and worst part of the common-gaol of Edinburgh, and was so denominated from the circumstance of Sir John

* True and Impartial Account, pp. 61. 63. The author here alludes to Lauderdale and Rothes.

† Own Times, p. 398.

Gordon of Haddo having been shut up in it, for his loyalty to Charles I. Wishart was immured in this loathsome dungeon for seven months, and during all that time was only allowed *once* to change his linen. While in Haddo's-hole he ran some risk of being devoured by rats, the marks of whose voracity he bore on his face to his grave. On his discharge from this abominable place, he went abroad with the Marquis of Montrose. After the fall of that illustrious nobleman he became chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, sister to Charles I., and in that capacity accompanied his royal mistress into England, in 1660, to visit her nephew, after his happy restoration. He was presented to the church and rectory of Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he lived much respected. On the restoration of the Church of Scotland he was preferred to the see of Edinburgh, as a reward for his loyalty and former sufferings. He was consecrated at St. Andrews, and held the see of Edinburgh till his death, in 1671. He was buried in the Chapel-royal, Holyrood, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory. He was a man of true religion and piety; and never forgot his own sufferings in Haddo's-hole; but felt for those who inhabited that abode of wretchedness and misery. In pursuance of this charitable sympathy it was his daily practice to send provisions from his own kitchen, all the time he sat

bishop in Edinburgh, to the prisoners. In particular at this time, he nearly killed the westland Whiggs taken at Pentland, with over-repletion. Burnet himself admits that the prisoners were in greater danger from full feeding than they had been during their short campaign. He wrote the History of the War in Scotland under the great Montrose, a book to which all historians are indebted for the true history of that period.*

* Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. Bishop Russell's edition. Burnet's Own Times. Note to Kirkton's History, p. 247.

CHAPTER VI.

1667. King's letter to the primate—Convention of Estates—Western counties disarmed—Rothés disgraced—King's letter—Bond of Peace—Reasons for refusing it—Primate's letter to Rothés—Erastianism defeated. 1668. Sir James Turner's trial—Leighton's Accommodation—The Indulgence—Attempt to assassinate the primate—James Mitchel—Several accounts—Mitchel's character—Privy council—Letter to the king—Lauderdale's letter of condolence—Outrages of the Covenanters. 1669. Covenanters—Their meetings declared illegal—Indulgence—Conditions—King's letter—Nature of the Indulgence—Remarks—Some ministers accept the Indulgence—Formulary—Erastianism—Ministers return thanks—Bishops and Clergy averse to this comprehension—Bishop's Sage's remarks—Wodrow's—Dissaffected ministers in Holland—Object to the want of a popular call—Popular opinion of the Indulgence—Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow—Conduct of the Government—Archbishop of Glasgow removed from Parliament—Meeting of Parliament—Assertatory Act—Reflections—Primate's opposition—Object of the act—Reflections—Archbishop Burnet—Cause of his suspension—Primate also in danger of deprivation—Act for the personal security of the clergy—Their oppression—Leighton. 1670. Collations—Remarks on the number of Dissenters—Reflections—Archbishop Burnet deprived—Leighton—his clergy accused—Field conventicles—Men go armed—Conventicle at Beith—Meeting of Parliament—Acts—Conventicle Act—Reflections—Preachers sent among the

Covenanters—Conference betwixt Leighton and the indulged ministers—The “Accommodation”—Reflections—Conspiracy against the Church—King’s letter—Remarks by Archbishop Paterson—Private instructions to Lauderdale. 1671. Leighton’s second attempt at conciliation—Death of Wishart.

1667. AFTER the affair at Rullion-green, the army was sent into Ayrshire, and Dalzell established his head-quarters at Kilmarnock. He seems to have been of a stern disposition; and the excesses said to have been committed, if true, are shocking to humanity; but when the tendency of those who make the assertion, to “aggravate the crimes of their enemies” is considered, we must not admit their accusations to the full extent. Compared with him, Turner and Bannatyne were considered mild and gentle. Kirkton says, “Sir James Turner and Sir William Bannatyne had, by their cruelties, driven the poor people of Galloway into despair; but they were saints compared to Tom Dalzell and his soldiers.”

In the month of January of this year, Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the primate, thanking him for his services in the late Presbyterian rebellion. The letter itself is in the possession of Major-general Bethune, of Blebo, the lineal representative of both Archbishop Sharp and Cardinal Beaton, who kindly permitted me to take a copy of it. On comparing the hand-

writing with documents known to have been written by that monarch, and in the possession of the Right Reverend Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh and *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*, and also the seal attached, there can be no doubt of its being in the hand-writing of Charles.

“ Whitehall, 2d January, 1667.

“ My Lord St. Andrews—I have received so great testimonies of your prudent carriage in the late transactions for settling my affaires, and how far you have been from foolish iealousies, that I thought it fitt to thanke you for it. I am confident you will so continue, and I assure you I shall be,

“ Your affectionatè friende,

“ Charles R.”*

In January there was a Convention of Estates, with the view of raising money for the pay of the army, and the other expenses of government. The king recommended mild measures to be adopted by the council; and on the 12th of March he ordered the western, or disaffected counties, to be disarmed. In the northern parts, beyond the river Forth, where the Episcopal church was the church of the people's affections, there was not a single soldier quartered. It was

* The hand-writing is good and legible, and the paper is about the size of a half-sheet of pot paper, folded quarto. The seal is lozenge-shape, having the royal arms; on the upper point of the lozenge is the crown, at the left corner his cypher, C., and opposite, the letter R.

only in Galloway, Ayr, and Lanarkshire, where *a part* of the people were attached to the Covenant, where the Covenanting ministers kept up a constant agitation, and whose religion was mixed too much up with sedition that any disturbance or disaffection to government existed. This seditious spirit was fostered by the preachers of the Covenant, who might with great justice be called knights of the church-militant. In March, a squadron of Dutch ships sailed up the Forth, and threw some shot into Leith and Burntisland; the army was therefore ordered to the eastern coast. "Nota," says Nicol: "Thir times looked verie stormie lyke baith be intestine debait and divisione in the north, south, and west lands, braking out in pairties quhilk compellit the privie council to convey oftener than of befoir to restrayne some wicked persones quhilk would not be restrained, and als be reasone of ane foraignemie, the Danes and Dutches, dailie waiting upone our sea-coastis for rubbing and taking of our schips and goods, and taking of men's lyfes, if it war possible."*

Roths was about this time stripped of all his employments, except the office of chancellor. His dissolute conduct in private life prevented his attention to the public affairs of state; and

* Diary, p. 454.

besides he had quarrelled with Lauderdale, whose influence with the king was despotic. A great part of the army was likewise disbanded, except two troops of horse and one regiment of foot-guards.

The council received a letter from the king, dated the 4th of May, enjoining proper respect to be shown to the established clergy.

“Whereas, nothing can be more useful for our service or more conducive for reclaiming the people from these treasonable and fanatic principles wherewith they have been poisoned by factious preachers, then the encouraging the sober and orthodox clergy, against whom the greatest rage appeared in the late rebellion. And whereas, we are resolved not only to encourage and protect the bishops in the exercise of their callings, and all the orthodox clergy under them, but also to discountenance all of what quality soever, who shall show any disrespect or disaffection to that order and government: therefore we do more especially and earnestly recommend it to you, who are trusted under us with the government of that our ancient kingdom, to give all manner of countenance and encouragement to the orthodox clergy, and to punish severely any affronts or disrespects put upon them, to the end that they may be the more endeared to their people, when they see how careful we, and all in authority under us, are of their protection in the due exercise of their calling.”

In consequence a proclamation was issued embodying the subject of the above letter, and making heritors and parishioners liable for damages done to the clergy by the fanatics.

In September the king granted a general amnesty to all who had been engaged in the late rebellion, except those who had been forfeited. In consequence of disbanding the army the council determined to tender the following "bond of peace" to the Covenanters in the west :—

" I, *A. B.*, do engage, bind, and oblige myself to keep the public peace, under the pain of a year's rent, of all whatsoever lands and heritages pertain to me, to be paid in case I contravene; and also those who are or shall be my men, tenants, and servants."

To men religiously and peaceably disposed such a bond should not have been any stumbling-block; nevertheless, it was generally refused by the Covenanters. The most unreasonable part was the making landlords responsible for their tenants. The reasons of those who owned the Covenant for refusing the bond, being curious, and not a little tinged with the ingenuity of Loyola, it is here inserted from a standard book with the Covenanters, called "The Hind let Loose."

" 1. That this bond of peace was a confederacy with *God's enemies*, whom we should reckon as our enemies, and *hate* them because they hate him.—2. This cannot be taken in truth, judgment, and righteousness, because of the fallacy and ambiguity of the terms; for there are divers kinds of peace, some of duty and others not. It must then be peace *rightly qualified*; for we can profess and pursue no peace or confederacy with God's enemies, no peace inconsistent with the fear of God, no peace obstructing the Gospel or our testimony;

no peace prompting to preposterous prudence, in palliating sin, or daubing defections with untempered mortar; no peace inconsistent with truth, &c.—3. If we further enquire into this meaning, living peaceably; it is plain they mean such a peaceable living, as gives *obedience to their wicked laws*, and is a compliance with their established courses; such peaceable living as is *opposite* to their *sense* of sedition, rebellion, schism, &c.; such a peaceable living as is *contrary to all the duties of our covenanted profession*, as going to meetings, withdrawing from the curates, &c., which, according to them, is inconsistent with the public peace.—4. This is *contrary* to our Covenants, by which we are *obliged* to a *constant contending* with, and *opposition* to all the supporters of popery, prelacy, &c.”

What could any government do with men of such anti-social principles? This bond was considered oppressive and tyrannical by the Covenanters, and by them only refused. It gave however general satisfaction; and all those who were in prison on suspicion, were liberated. Charles approved of the moderate measures now pursued, and in October ordered a proclamation of pardon and indemnity, with certain exceptions, and this put a stop to all the severities.

Burnet says that Rothes was commanded to write to Archbishop Sharp to confine himself to his own diocese, and to attend to the education of the young Duke of Gordon. This must be altogether erroneous, for by the following letter to Rothes, we find, that instead of being

confined to his diocese, he went to London. Rothes *represented* his royal master so faithfully, that he gave himself up entirely to a dissolute course of life, to the detriment of public business. The archbishop wrote to him from London, reproving him for his loose, lascivious life, and his letters, says Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp, "to Rothes, do him much credit, as a candid friend, and sage adviser."

"By my last I scribbled, being straitened with time, I do not remember well what: only what comes into my heart, I take a freedom to utter to your grace, whyle I am with you by word, and at this distance by write. I have been these two days much at Lambeth, and yesterday morning had a full and free discourse with a confidant of — Worcester-house, and found there has been endeavours, since your parting from this place, to do me ill offices, and not good service to your grace. It is apprehendit here, that I am absolutely yours, (and I confess I doe not take pains to dispossess them of that opinion,) and therefore they have thought it fitt for them to make bold with me, by useing all the wayes their malice could prompt them to blast my reputation and credit with my most gracious master, with the duke, and churchmen my friends; and their having begun with me, (whom they thought in my absence it was easy to oppress,) they might without much controul have opportunity to make their calumnies of your grace to take place, that you are unfitt to prosecute the king's service, not at all concerning yourself in it, being dissolute, lascivious, and wholly given up to follow your pleasures, caring for none, and being intimate with none, but such kind of persons who are without brains or morality, whom you keep always about you for drinking,

carding, dycing, and w——g; so as your family and way gives the example to all looseness throughout the country. Finding that these suggestions were made of you, I thought it was fitt for me, upon monday morning to speak to the king, and to read your note written to me, of which I do not repent. I did justify you to my Lord Canterbury, of whose fidelity and friendship to you I can give you assurance. Having taken my Lords of Athole and Stormont to dyne with him yesterday at Lambeth, he entertained them very kindly, and sayed to them at the table, that by the account I had given him, he found that the king's commissioner for Scotland, his noble friend, had done the part of a faithfull minister to his master; and having called for a glass of shearie, he pulled off his hatt, and drank out to your grace's health, and made it goe round the table, all being uncovered. I am not solicitous or doubtfull but that you are ordering your carriage so as will cut off occasion or pretension to those who envy your greatness to traduce you. Before I part from hence, your interest with the king, and those who govern here, shall be more surely fixed than can be undermined or lessened by the attempts of any." *

Bishop Burnet brings a sweeping charge of ignorance and scandal against the whole body of the clergy in the diocese of Glasgow, upon the suspicious evidence of their enemies, the Covenanters. Nevertheless, he admits in another place, that, "*it was after all hard to believe all that was set about against them.*" That is, that the falsehoods respecting them were so very

* Note to Kirkton's Hist. by Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esq., pp. 261, 262.

glaring that they carried their own refutation along with them. Sir Robert Murray proposed a special commission to try them. This was opposed by the archbishop, as direct Erastianism, and as striking directly at the root of Episcopal authority. The clergy themselves were alarmed, and exclaimed against this proposal, as in fact delivering them into the hands of their implacable enemies the Covenanters, who were to be their accusers, and that too before lay judges. These were exasperated against the clergy, on account of their sacred functions, and because they yielded obedience to the laws, and would have sworn any falsehood against them. On this the Covenanters became exceedingly insolent, and began to ill use the clergy; many of whom, despairing of further protection from the government, vacated their cures and went over to Ireland. The commission was abandoned, but its proposal did much mischief.

1668. A special commission was ordered by the king in February, to inquire into the conduct of Sir James Turner, during his command in Dumfriesshire and Galloway. It appears from their report, from informations on oath, "that many illegal exactions had been made and disorders committed." * For which he pleaded his

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 102.


written instructions from Lord Rothes, the king's commissioner. But as these instructions were taken from him by the rebels after his capture, it was impossible for him to produce them in evidence. He admitted having extorted £50,000 Scots from the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. And it appears on Sir James's oath, that the *army* as it was called, with which he was said so mightily to have oppressed that part of the country, only amounted to *sixty men, rank and file* ! This is a fair specimen of the exaggerations to which the party have resorted in the whole proceedings of this reign ; and from this we may judge of the enormous lies with which the page of history, during these two reigns, has been overlaid. The report and defences were submitted to the king, who ordered his commissions to be taken from him, and himself declared incapable for ever after of serving his majesty.

With the malignant feelings which actuated the historian of the Sufferings, of the so called, Church of Scotland, he says, that Sir James Turner was abundantly ready to execute the orders of the privy council ; but was obliged to go beyond even his own inclinations, to satisfy the bishop of Galloway, who, he says, was severe and cruel, as all apostates used to be, and the rest of the prelates. These severe accusations are entirely false, and are only conceived in that spirit of

aggravation in which his whole history is written. I have shown that Bishop Hamilton could not be an apostate, even in their sense, because he was Episcopally ordained, and only was coerced into a forced submission to the wide-spread heresy during the usurpation.

The following remarks are taken from a work recently published by the Bannatyne Club, to which we are much indebted for the publication of many original MSS., which throw great light on the history of Scotland, at a period when a mendacious spirit seemed to have been poured out upon the compilers of its history.

“Very hard names ; a betrayer of the liberties of the kirk, ane obleidger of ane officer who knew so very well his duety as to execute it with rigour, to goe beyound his inclinations, severe, cruel, and ane apostate too. Might not one be induc'd to think that Mr. Wodrow had now altogether lost his Christian charity, and with that St. Paul's precept, ‘Let each esteem others better than themselves ;’ malice, perverse lyeing, and back-byteings, are doun right contradictory to the spirit of Christianity ; and the vermine who not only use, but avowedly print them, should be looked upon by all good and honest men as the cankers of societie, and the shame of any religion whatever, only fit for a common stage, but in no wayes for the pulpit.



“ If Mr. Wodrow had known the bishop befor he wrot, as certainly he ought, he must have spoke out the gentleman, and fairly said, Hamilton, &c., who hath at last got thorow that dismall and schismatical inundation, is now not only restored to, but made a prelate of, that orderly and orthodox church of Christ, wherin he was baptised, and many years before the Restoration, instituted and ordain'd. This so much for answer to his betraying and apostacie.

“ The bishop was too well known here, both by freinds and enemies, some whereof still alive, to deserue those base epithets of severe and cruel ; and a gentleman, tho' no great freind to his partie, speaking of the bishop very lately, was pleased to say that he knew him severe in nothing save his dyet and morals.

“ As for Mr. Wodrow's termes of childish obligations upon Sir James Turner, (considering that gentleman's character,) they must be very stupid. For my own curiositie, I haue gone thorow the bishop's letters, note, and papers, and I now declare that I cannot see one word about him; which must obleidge me to believe, considering the bishop's exactnesse, that he and Sir James were very little, if at all acquainted.

“ I expected also in this gentleman's appendix, some vouchers for the aboue calumnies, but it seems they are, as too many others which he

relates, not yet come to hand. If Mr. Gilbert Hamilton at Crawfoord, one of his sufferers too, who all the bishop's tyme kept his conventicles and meetings, within less than a bowshot of Broomhill, were aliue, he would give these his imprudent assertions the lye to their face.

"In the same vol. p. 102, is, 'Therefore the court pitched upon Masters Sharp, Fairfoul, and Hamilton, &c., to come up to London, and learn the service of that land, and receiue Episcopal ordination.'

"To what end ordination, when, as I haue already told, the bishop more than twenty-six years before that, had it in his pocket? But I suppose he means consecration, which reallie till this tyme he had not, tho' conforme to this teacher's wrytings, and his printed visible knowledge, it may be reckoned, without breach of charity, that he takes these words to be synonymous. As to the bishop's learning the service of that land, is still a greater blunder in Mr. Wodrow, especially when he braggs so much in his preface as to giue a well-vouched narrative, the searchings of the registers of the privie council and justiciary, (carefully done to my knowledge,) his accesse to the valuable papers of Mr. Alexander Sheils, and the relations of the sufferers in that period. Yet for all that, he hath neglected the synodical books at Glasgow, else he had found Mr. James Hamilton, to his lasting honour,

severely handled by the then synod, for using so long that great treasure of rational devotion, I mean our Liturgie, in his church at Cambusnethan." *

In consequence of many having refused to sign the bond of peace, the king wrote to the council requiring information respecting the number of those who had refused. He recommended to their especial care, the preservation of the public peace, and to countenance and maintain the Episcopal government. He also commanded them by all means "to restrain the gatherings of the people to conventicles, which are indeed rendezvouses of rebellion, and execute the laws severely against the ringleaders of such faction and schism." In reply, the council state that two hundred and eighteen had accepted his majesty's pardon, and signed the bond of peace; and that three hundred of the inferior people had not accepted it.† The country became now much more tranquil, and would have remained so, but for the machinations of those Presbyterians who had taken refuge in Holland. The Earl of Tweeddale and his friends were greatly concerned at the intractable spirit of the Covenanters. They sent for some of their heads; and offered, that if they would conform

* Account of the Familie of Broomhill, 4to. pp. 54—56.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 107.

themselves to the government, they would endeavour to procure a mitigation in their favour of some of the severest of the laws against them. Many churches in the western counties were vacant, in consequence of the violent and lawless conduct of the Covenanters, which harassed the clergy so much, that some of them were obliged to vacate their livings in despair.*

The civil government determined to pursue milder measures, and Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, proposed a scheme of "Accommodation." Burnet says, a set of hot, fiery preachers perambulated the western counties, inflaming the minds of the people, and drawing them away from their parish churches. As a remedy for this increasing evil, Leighton proposed a treaty, for accommodating the existing differences, and changing the ecclesiastical laws. Parliament had exalted the Episcopal authority much higher than the bishops themselves had ever assumed. The basis of Leighton's accommodation was, that the church should be governed by the bishops and the clergy mixing together in church-courts. It was proposed, that the bishop should act merely as a president or moderator; and that all decisions, in matters of jurisdiction and ordination, be determined by the majority of the presbyters. Those Presbyterian

* Guthrie, Gen. Hist., vol. x. p. 141.

ministers who should accede, should be allowed to declare at their first sitting, that they submitted to the presidency of a bishop, for peace sake, with a reservation of their opinions regarding the lawfulness of such presidency. The bishop was not to be allowed a negative vote ! The bishops were to hold ordinations at the churches, where the ministers were to be settled, and not at his cathedral. The Presbytery were to meet there at the same time, to hear and discuss the objections that might be offered. The persons ordained were to have permission to declare their opinions, whether or not they thought the bishop was head of the Presbyters. It was likewise proposed, that there should be provincial synods, to meet once in three years, in which complaints against the bishops should be received, and themselves censured accordingly ! Upon this fallacious basis it was proposed to alter the laws respecting Episcopacy, which was, in short, to establish Presbytery. According to this scheme, the bishop had no more power than any of the presbyters : it went the whole length of Erastianism ; for, if a negation was necessary, it was to be interposed by the king ; and some lay person was to negative the proceedings, should the bishop find it necessary !* Such were Leighton's propo-

* Burnet's Own Times, pp. 462—468.

sals for healing the schism, a scheme much more likely to perpetuate it. Lauderdale, however, would not consent to such a wild proposal; and even the Presbyterians themselves treated it with deserved contempt.

This accommodation being set aside as impracticable, it was resolved in the king's councils to grant a toleration to such of the Presbyterian party as would engage to live peaceably. To this, however, Leighton was opposed. Some of the outed ministers were to be permitted to fill the vacant churches, as an act of royal *indulgence*; hence the name. Wodrow says, that at this time field-conventicles were very rare; but Presbyterian ministers preached to their followers in houses and barns: unless in some places, where circumstances obliged them to take to the fields, it was rare to preach out of a house.* This indulgence or toleration would have been carried into effect at this time, had not the infernal principles engendered by the Covenant, induced an attempt to assassinate the primate. Kirkton calls it "ane unhappy *accident*."† Wodrow says, it was "ane unhappy *incident*."‡ Burnet, of whom better things might have been

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

† Kirkton's History, p. 277.

‡ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 115.

expected, calls this inhuman attempt, “ a strange *accident* which happened to Sharp.”

The vile assassin's name was James Mitchell, one of the ministers of the Covenanters ; and it may hence be inferred what sort of horrible doctrines they taught the people. I shall give the account of the “ unhappy incident,” in the cool and approving language of Wodrow, which clearly shows that the “ unhappiness” of the “ incident” consisted, in his opinion, in its want of success : “ James Mitchel was a *preacher of the gospel*, and a youth of *much zeal and piety* ; but, perhaps, had not those opportunities for learning and conversation, which would have been useful to him. I find Mr. Traill, minister at Edinburgh, in the year 1661, recommending him to some ministers in Galloway, as a *good youth*, that had not much to subsist upon, and as fit for a school, or teaching gentlemen's children. He was at Pentland, and is excepted from the indemnity. *From what motives I say not*, he takes on a resolution to kill the Archbishop of St. Andrews ; and upon the 11th of July, he waits the bishop coming down in the afternoon to his coach at the head of Blackfriar's Wynd in Edinburgh ; and with him was Mr. Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney. When the archbishop had entered the coach and taken his seat, Mr. Mitchell steps close to the north side of the coach, and dis-

charges a loaden pistol in at the door of the coach. The moment the pistol is discharged, Mr. Honeyman sets his foot in the boot of the coach, and when reaching up his hand to step in, received the shot *designed* for Mr. Sharp, in the wrist, *and so the primate escaped at this time.* Upon this, Mr. Mitchell crossed the street with much composure, till he comes to Niddry's Wynd-head, when a man offers to stop him, and he presented a pistol to him, upon which the other let him go. He stepped down the wynd, (lane,) and going up Steven Law's close, went into a house, and changed his clothes, and came straight confidently to the street, as being the place where indeed he would be least suspected. The cry arose, a man was killed; and some rogues answered, it was but a bishop, and all was calmed very soon. The two bishops made all the haste they could to the house where they had been."*

Dr. Burns of Paisley makes no comment on this atrocious attempt at murder, but seems rather to approve of it; for he adds in a note the following vindictive paragraph: "Honeyman, like Sharp, had been originally a very violent Presbyterian, but like him had, for the sake of preferment, violated his conscience, and was a cruel persecutor of all who refused to follow his

* Wodrow's Hist. vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

example. The above *accident*, however, was fatal to him ; the wound could never be healed, and in a few years after, was the cause of his death. Sharp, though he thus *escaped at the time*, was greatly alarmed, and probably lived after this in daily and nightly terror. Bishop Burnet, who, though he *hated* the man, had some respect for the archbishop, and called on him for the purpose of congratulating him on his escape, informs us, ‘ that he was much touched with it,’ and put on a show of devotion upon it. He said, with a very serious look, ‘ My times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life!’ ‘ This,’ he adds, ‘ was the single expression savouring of piety, that ever fell from him in all the conversations that passed between him and me.’” * And, without any breach of charity, we may assert, that this solitary, “ single expression, savouring of piety,” would not have been chronicled by either Burnet or Burns, had it not been for the pious purpose of defaming Sharp, as they respectfully call the primate. “ But neither his innocence nor character could screen him from the inhuman designs of the sons of Belial, who thought if they could once destroy him, his order would also follow. The first attempt to put this

* Own Times ; cited by Dr. Burns, in note to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 116.

hellish project into execution was made on the 11th of July, 1668, being Saturday; for as he came down in the evening from his brother's lodgings, which were over against the Blackfriar's Wynd, and being placed in his coach, was distributing charity to the poor, and blessing them, and receiving their returns, he along with Dr. Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney (who was entering the coach,) were assaulted by a wicked ruffian, (Mr. James Mitchel by name, whose son and heir is present preacher, (1723,) at Donnoter,) who shot at them with a pistol, charged with *three* balls, which broke the Bishop of Orkney's left arm, a little above the wrist. In the confusion occasioned by so unexpected an event, the bloody assassin made his escape."*

Cruikshanks, copying Wodrow, and relating this attempt at sacrilegious murder, calls Dr. Honeyman's wound the "*righteousness of Providence*, in disabling Honeyman at this time."† And even the more respectable Guthrie says, "As Honeyman was among the most learned of the Scotch bishops, and had lately distinguished himself by a publication in favour of Episcopacy, though he had formerly been a violent Covenanter, enthusiasts looked upon his wound as a

* True and Impartial Account, p. 63.

† Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 269.

just punishment for his apostacy; but the public made no doubt that the ball was aimed at Sharp."*

We shall meet with the "*pious*" Mitchel afterwards; meantime his character may be mentioned, as a specimen of what certain religionists mean by "piety and zeal." He was rejected by the Presbytery of Dalkeith from ordination on account of his ignorance. Afterwards he was recommended to the Laird of Dundas, as domestic chaplain; in whose family he entered into a criminal familiarity with the young wife of the laird's aged gardener. Their guilt being discovered, he was dismissed from the family. He came to Edinburgh, and lodged in the same house with the execrable Major Weir, with whom he contracted a friendship. He now began to frequent conventicles and to preach up the Covenant, with all disloyal principles. Major Weir, to show his friendship for him, recommended him to the niece of Sir Archibald Johnston the famous rebel, and one of the greatest fanatics of her day. It was during his residence in this family that the Pentland rebellion broke out, which he immediately joined. He escaped the sword, but was proclaimed traitor, and was afterwards excepted out of the king's act of indemnity. From that

* General History, vol. x. p. 142.

time he skulked about, and sheltered himself among the rebellious saints of the Covenant, till he had an opportunity of reducing his principles to practice, on Saturday, the 11th of July.* Sir James Turner says :—" At Douglass, I was accosted by one Mitchell, (whom I had never seen before,) a preacher, but no actual minister, who spared not to rail sufficiently against all authority, both supreme and subaltern."

The privy council immediately assembled, and issued a proclamation for the assassin's apprehension ; and then wrote the following letter to the king, acquainting him with the horrid assault.

" May it please your sacred majesty,—As it hath not been our custom to give your majesty any unnecessary trouble ; so we could have wished that the wickedness of a desperate fellow had not given occasion to us in duty to acquaint your majesty with that which we know will not be pleasing to you, and which we and all honest men doe abominate.

" Saturday last, in the evening, as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Bishop of Orkney were going abroad, the archbishop being in his coach and the other stepping up, a wicked fellow standing behind the coach, did shott the Bishop of Orkney beneath his right-hand, and broke his left-arm a little above the wrist, with five balls, and immediately crossing the street, went down a lane and escaped, there being no person near at the time but those who were so taken up about the Bishop of Orkney, that they could not observe the person,

* Ravillac Redivivus.

nor whither he went. That same night all possible search was made both within and about the town, and this day a proclamation was issued forth for the discovery and apprehending of him, whereof a copy is sent to your secretary to be presented to your majesty, whom we shall acquaint from time to time, &c."*

Among the Episcopal manuscripts at Aberdeen there is an original letter from the Earl of Lauderdale, dated 18th July, 1668, addressed to Archbishop Sharp, in which he congratulates the primate on his recent happy escape from assassination. His lordship also offers condolence to the Bishop of Orkney, for the severe wound which he had received. He communicates to the primate that some "villain had wounded my lord general's porter, and on being taken, he said, he intended to have murdered the king and the Duke of Albemarle." This is the sort of "piety and zeal" which the disciples of the Covenant universally taught, and of which they approved. About this time very gross outrages were committed on the Episcopal clergy by the Covenanters. They broke into their houses, beat themselves and their families, destroyed their furniture and provisions, and carried off what they pleased.

1669. The conventicles, as they were called, that is, large congregations of the disaffected

* Acta Secreti Concilii. Extracted from MSS. Books of Counsel, in the Register-office, Edinburgh, p. 97.

Covenanters, which met in retired places for hearing sermons, became more common. Although ministers preached at these meetings, yet seditious measures were contrived at them, and men went armed to them, either for offence or defence, as the case might require. Government, having one rebellion before their eyes, were apprehensive of a more extensive and more dangerous combination. On the 8th of April therefore, the council issued a proclamation, declaring these conventicles to be illegal and treasonable; inasmuch as they were rendezvouses for rebellion and sedition. By this proclamation, every heritor in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, on whose lands any conventicles were held, were declared liable in a fine of fifty pounds.

It appears that Archbishop Sharp was called up to court in the spring of this year. And even Burnet admits that he advised Charles to pursue moderate measures against the field-preachers. The Earl of Tweeddale likewise seconded the primate's advice, and the result was a letter from the king to the privy council, granting an *INDULGENCE*. The terms of this toleration were easy, and might have been complied with, without any encroachments on principles, or the rights of conscience, had not the wild spirit of insubordination taken such deep root in the minds of the

more rigid Covenanters. By this indulgence or toleration, such Presbyterian ministers as had deserted their charges, or had been deposed since 1662, were to be readmitted to such parishes as were then vacant, on condition of living peaceably with the Episcopal clergy, and admitting none but those of their respective parishes to attend their ministrations. Those who were unprovided with the vacant churches were allowed a *regium donum* of four hundred marks yearly, if they were *peaceable and orderly*.* It is to be regretted that this condition was necessary; but in truth the Presbyterian ministers were the prime movers of all the disorderly doings at that time. Tweeddale was the bearer of the king's letter, and it is as follows:—

“ CHARLES R.

“ Right trusty, &c.—Whereas, by the act of council and proclamation at Glasgow, in the year 1662, a considerable number of ministers were at once turned out, and so debarred from preaching of the gospel and exercise of the ministry; we are graciously pleased to authorise you and our privy council, to appoint so many of the outed ministers as have lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they have resided, to return, and preach and exercise other functions of their ministry, in the parish churches where they formerly resided and served, (provided they be vacant,) and to allow patrons to present to other vacant churches, such others of them as

* Kirkton's History, pp. 288, 289.

you shall approve of; and that such ministers as shall take collation from the bishop of the diocese, and keep Presbyteries and Synods, may be warranted to lift the stipends as other ministers of the kingdom: but for such as are not, or shall not be collated by the bishop, that they have no warrant to meddle with the local stipend, but only to possess the manse and glebe, and that you appoint a collector for those and all other vacant stipends, who shall issue the same, and pay a yearly maintenance to the said not collated ministers, as you shall see fit to appoint.

“ That all who are restored and allowed to exercise the ministry, be *in our name and authority*, enjoined to constitute and keep Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, as was done by all ministers before the year 1638, and that such of them as shall not obey our command in keeping Presbyteries, be confined within the bounds of the parishes where they preach; aye, and while they give assurance to keep Presbyteries for the future.

“ That all who are allowed to preach, be strictly enjoined not to admit any of their neighbour, or any other parishes into their communions, nor baptize their children, nor marry any of them, without the allowance of the minister of the parish to which they belong, unless it be vacant for the time. And if it be found, upon complaint made by any Presbytery unto you our privy council, that the people of the neighbouring or other parishes, resort to their preachings, and desert their own parish churches, that according to the degree of the offence or disorder, you silence the minister who countenances the same, for shorter or longer time; and upon a second complaint verified, that you silence again for a longer time or altogether turn out, as you see cause; and upon complaint made and verified, of any seditious discourse or expressions in the pulpit or elsewhere, uttered by any of these ministers, you

are immediately to turn them out, and further punish them according to law and the degree of the offence.

“ That such of the outed ministers who have behaved peaceably and orderly, and are not reinstated or presented as aforesaid, have allowed to them four hundred marks Scots, yearly, out of the vacant churches, for their maintenance, till they be provided of churches : and even such who shall give assurance to live so for the future, be allowed the same yearly maintenance.


“ And seeing by these orders we have taken away all pretences for conventicles, and provided for the wants of all as are, and will be peaceable ; if any shall hereafter be found to preach without authority, or keep conventicles, our express pleasure is that you proceed with all severity against the preachers and hearers, as seditious persons, and contemners of our authority. So leaving the management of these orders to your prudence, and recommending them to your care, we bid you farewell.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, 7th of June, 1669.

“ By his majesty's command.

(Signed) “ Lauderdale.”

This indulgence shows how anxious the king and the government were to preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom, even at the expense of the Episcopal establishment. It was not merely such a toleration as dissenters from the national establishment of the present day enjoy ; it was much more : it permitted *dissenters to enjoy the livings* of the Established Church, *without acknowledging her jurisdiction*, or being comprehended within her pale. It was the complete



establishment of Presbytery in the heart of Episcopacy; and, as may be easily supposed, the bishops did not much relish this degree of license, which set up an independent power within their respective dioceses. It dispensed with the laws by which their government was established, and weakened the unity and constitution of Episcopacy. It was, however, a matter of expediency, which completely shows that the government were not persecutors, but were anxious to conciliate the Covenanters, although their friends have stigmatised Charles and the church with that accusation. "It was the senseless cant and language of an incorrigible party, who notwithstanding this lenity *still* pursued their rebellious courses, and renounced their allegiance. Nay, they were so enraged against the sober part of their own body, who accepted this royal favour, that they branded the indulged brethren with as ill names as they did the orthodox clergy, calling them the 'king's curates,' 'the council's curates,' &c."* Wodrow is indignant at this indulgence; because nothing less than an exclusive establishment would have satisfied him. But a later historian than him, the late Dr. M'Crie, has expressed sentiments respecting this measure, which evinces that the feelings of the party has

* True and Impartial Account, p. 64.

not improved even in the nineteenth century. "It is *deeply to be lamented* (says he) that the *most* of the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland accepted of it, and some of them sent an address to the king, thanking him in their own name, and that of their brethren, for his gracious and surprising favour, and promising an entire loyalty in doctrine and practice. Nor was any joint testimony given against this *sinful and dangerous measure*."*

A proclamation was issued in conformity with his majesty's letter, and a committee of council was appointed to examine the ministers willing to be indulged. It is much to their credit, that the sober and really peaceable Presbyterian ministers very thankfully accepted the king's proposals, and resolved to observe the conditions. Accordingly, ten ministers were indulged on the 27th of July; seven on the 3d of August; seven again on the 2d of September; and five on the 30th; five on the 9th; and one on the 16th of December; in all thirty-five. Among those licensed on the 2d December, was Mr. Robert Douglass, who up to this period had communicated in the Established Church; but after this preached at the parish church of Pencaithland, to which he was presented, and where he died. The first ten appeared before the privy council and received

* Testimony of Ass. Syn. of Orig. Seceders.

licenses, of which there were two forms. One related to those who were to serve at the churches then vacant, and where they had formerly been settled; the other to those who were appointed to other churches, as follows :—

“ The lords of his majesty’s privy council, in pursuance of his majesty’s command, signified the 7th of June last, do appoint Mr. Ralph Rogers, late minister at Glasgow, to preach and exercise the other functions of the ministry at the kirk of Kilwinning.”

The second was :—

“ Forsamickle as the kirk at Ochiltree is vacant, the lords of his majesty’s privy council in pursuance, &c.—and in regard of the consent of the patron, do appoint Mr. Robert Miller, late minister there, to teach and exercise the other functions of the ministry at the said kirk of Ochiltree.”

A copy of the above was delivered to each of the ministers, and the Act of Council was read to them. It may be remarked, that this was all that was originally required of them, only the license would have been granted by the bishop instead of the privy council. Here men thankfully accepted presentation from the patron and collation from the privy council in 1669, which is *Erastianism*, and which they refused in 1662, from the bishop. There is an inconsistency—a straining at gnats and swallowing camels—which shows how false the outcry was against Archbishop Fairfowl and Middleton, for the Act of

Glasgow. It likewise shows, that the desertion of their parishes in 1662 was entirely a factious demonstration, designed to embarrass the government. Their conduct upon that occasion, shows that they were not actuated by religious but by factious and political motives. At the end, however, of seven years, they homologate Erastianism ; although they have ever falsely accused the Episcopal church of it. So happy were they now to accept what they might have had with much less trouble from their bishops, and never had occasion to leave their own parishes, that on receiving their Erastian collation in the council-chamber, Mr. George Hutchinson made a speech to the council in his own and his brethren's name :—

“ My lords,—I am desired, in the name of my brethren here present, to acknowledge in all humility and thankfulness his majesty's royal favour, in granting us liberty, and the public exercise of our ministry, after so long a restraint from the same ; and to return hearty thanks to your lordships, for the care and pains taken therein, and that your lordships have been pleased to make us, the unworthiest of many of our brethren, so early partakers of the same.

“ We, having received our ministry from JESUS CHRIST, with full prescriptions from him for regulating us therein, must in the discharge thereof be accountable to him : and as there can be nothing more desirable or refreshing to us upon earth, than to have free liberty of the exercise of our ministry, under the protection of lawful authority the excellent ordinance of God, and to us most dear and precious ; so we purpose and resolve to behave ourselves in the dis-

erge of the ministry, with that wisdom and prudence, which becomes faithful ministers of JESUS CHRIST, and to lean ourselves towards lawful authority, notwithstanding our known judgments in church affairs, as well becomes all subjects, and that from a principle of conscience.

And now, my lords, our prayer to God is, that the Lord may bless his majesty in his person and government, and all his lordships in your public administrations; and especially in pursuance of his majesty's mind, testified in his letter, wherein his singular moderation eminently appears, that all persons of our brethren may in due time be made sharers in the liberty, that through his majesty's favour we now enjoy." *

The grateful feelings of these gentlemen were, however, severely censured by many of their brethren at the time; and it has since been the matter of grave and ungenerous accusation against their memories, by the antiburghers of the present day. In expressing the opinion of that body, Dr. M'Crie says: "In pronouncing our judgment on this point, we desire to cherish a tender respect for the good men who accepted of these indulgences, and to recollect that it is easy for us, who live in the land of peace, to censure the conduct of those who had to contend with the swellings of Jordan.' We readily allow that they could not be blameable for simply availing themselves of any liberty afforded them

* Cruickshank's Hist. Memoirs, 4to. pp. 157, 158.

to exercise their ministry, by the removal or relaxation of laws, which were in themselves unjust; and we feel disposed to give all due weight to the reasons which they assigned for their conduct. *But* we think it undeniable, that the indulgences, first and last, sprang directly from the royal supremacy, which was the bitter root of all the evils, with which the church was then afflicted; that the privy council, by delegation from the king, *assumed church-power* in appointing the indulged ministers, judging of their qualifications, planting and transplanting them at their pleasure, and prescribing instructions for regulating the exercise of their office; and consequently the accepting these indulgences, and acting under them, without disavowing in an explicit manner the power usurped by the civil government over the house of God, (especially after the act assertory of the supremacy passed,) was a departure from a material part of the testimony of the Church of Scotland, caused offences and divisions among its friends, and encouraged their persecutors to proceed to greater severities against those who were exposing their lives on the high places of the fields.*

The primate and the other bishops were decidedly averse to granting such unlimited powers

* Testimony of the Ass. Syn. of Orig. Seceders, p. 32.

to men so openly unfriendly to Episcopacy. Under that Erastian indulgence, Presbyterians could hold benefices in the Episcopal church, without submission to Episcopal authority; which was an *imperium in imperio*. It had however the effect of greatly uniting the people. Bishop Sage says, that at the death of Charles II., the Established Episcopal Church was in a more peaceable and flourishing state than it had been for many years preceding. Generally, he says, all Scotsmen were of one communion; and there were scarce one Papist to five hundred Protestants. The Presbyterians were divided into two sects; one of which was opposed to the toleration, the other accepted it. The latter, or moderate party, he continues, had mostly returned to the unity of the church. Their very preachers attended the Established Church and partook of her sacraments; and had given up holding field-meetings. The Cameronians (Covenanters) alone kept up the separation. The moderate Presbyterians acknowledged that they could conscientiously live in communion with the Episcopal church. Many of them thanked God, that they had been reconciled to the Episcopal church; and many of their ablest preachers said, they would never be engaged in schism again.* At

* Sage's Letters on Toleration.

this period, both Presbyterians and Episcopalians used the same mode of extempore worship. Neither wore the surplice. Both administered the sacraments in the same manner; and both had synods and presbyteries. Even Wodrow admits, that "the whole Presbyterians cheerfully submitted to their (the indulged ministers) ministry, as they had access. Matters continued thus, as far," says he, "as I can learn, till some of the banished ministers in Holland, perhaps upon misinformation, or at least incomplete accounts from Scotland, some time after this, wrote over some letters, and sent home some reasons against joining with the indulged. This *began a flame*, which by degrees rose to a very great height." *

Nevertheless, the scrupulosity of these ministers found something, even in the indulgence itself, to boggle at. Those who were appointed to other parishes than those which they had deserted, or from which they had been deposed, scrupled to enter without *a call from the people*. Others, again, strained even at this call itself, when they did obtain it, because, as they alleged, the people had not a free choice. Kirkton says, "it was derived from the king's supremacy, and so judged a bitter fruit from a bitter tree. Ministers were obtruded upon diverse congregations, upon the

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 135.

consent of the patron, without respect to the call of the people. They were required *to do evil*," that is, acknowledge Episcopal government ; " they were made prisoners, and by the *harsh* indulgence. Nobody might partake of their ministry, that they might keep good neighbourhood with the curates, and that was to conform their sinful ministry."* Rather than lose their benefices, however, they all took possession with or without a call, and that too under an *Erastian collation*. The indulged ministers preached only the Christian doctrines, and refrained from speaking evil of dignities, railing on the LORD'S anointed, and testifying for the Covenant. In consequence, the more fanatical of the people deserted them, and upbraided them with being Erastians, the king's curates, and the council's curates. The field-preaching ministers styled them "dumb dogs that could not bark ;" and they called the indulgence itself, Erastianism and the black indulgence. "They," says Burnet, "that could have argued about the intrinsic power of the church, and Episcopacy and Presbytery, upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, *knew very little of the essentials of religion*."†

Wodrow informs us, in a contemptuous manner,

* Kirkton, p. 290.

† Own Times, vol i. p. 478.

that the Archbishop of Glasgow and his diocesan synod "made a little sputter against the exercise of the supremacy, when it struck against them."* The indulgence caused great and just alarm to the Episcopal clergy in the Covenanted districts; and the synod of Glasgow, therefore, drew up a strong remonstrance against it. They contended, and justly, that this act of council superseded the authority of several acts of parliament, particularly the Act 1662, which enacts "that all church power is to be regulated and authorised in the exercise thereof, *by the archbishops and bishops*, who are to put order to all Ecclesiastical matters and causes, and to be accountable to his majesty for their administration."† It went directly in the teeth of another act, "That none hereafter be permitted to preach in public, within any diocese *without the license of the ordinary*;" but the indulged were licensed by the council, in *defiance* of the bishop. Besides, how could they reconcile the royal indulgence with the clause of another act, which directs the council "to *punish* all preachers *without the bishop's* license, as seditious persons?"‡ The synod represented the illegality of this measure, and the fatal effects it was likely to produce in the church. This

* Vol. ii. p. 138.

† 4 Act, 2 Sess.

‡ 1 Act, 3 Sess., 1667.

Remonstrance, although prepared, was never presented; for the council hearing of it, became alarmed for their own safety, and sent peremptory orders to Archbishop Burnet to deliver up the papers. The council also commanded Mr. Ramsay, dean of Glasgow, Mr. Ross, a lay gentleman, and the clerk of the synod, to appear before the council on the 14th of October, and to produce the synod records. The papers of the synod of Glasgow were referred to a committee of council, who reported on the 16th, "that they were of a dangerous nature and consequence, tending to the depraving his majesty's laws, and misconstruing of his majesty and his council, and the manner of conveying thereof, most illegal and unwarrantable." "Nor," says the author of *Memoirs*, alleged upon very insufficient grounds, to have been Sir George Mackenzie, for there is not the slightest internal evidence: "nor was this paper less seditious than the Remonstrance; nor the Archbishop of Glasgow more innocent than Mr. James Guthrie; for both equally designed to debar the king from interposing any way in the affairs of the church. Whereupon the archbishop was called to the council, and it was intimated to him, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that he should not be present at this present parliament, but should be confined to Glasgow, till

his offence were further considered ; in obedience to which, he retired ; and thus one *great design* was effectuated, wherein it was contrived, that he should be removed from parliament *till the Act of Supremacy should pass* ; against which it was found, that he would oppose himself and stir up others." *

Parliament met on the 19th of October, and the Earl of Lauderdale presided as the royal commissioner. The two chief topics of his opening speech were the church, and an union of the kingdoms. He earnestly recommended the preservation of the Established Church, and expressed great zeal for Episcopacy ; and assured the house of his majesty's fixed resolution unalterably to maintain that apostolic government. How far the noble speaker was sincere, may be gathered from the first act of this session ; and here, for once, we cordially agree with Wodrow's "observe" on it ; "how far," says he, "the good and peace of any right constitute church can be advanced *by the utter removal* of all church power, I cannot see." It is commonly called the ASSERTORY ACT, and asserted the royal supremacy so high, that it left no power whatever to the church. But the act itself is worthy of record here :—

* Memoirs, 4to. pp. 157, 158.

“ The estates of parliament having seriously considered how necessary it is for the good and peace of the church and state, that his majesty’s power and authority in relation to matters and persons ecclesiastical be more clearly *asserted* by an act of parliament, have therefore thought fit it be enacted, *asserted*, and declared, likeas his majesty, with advice and consent of his estates of parliament, doth hereby enact, *assert*, and declare, That his majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, within this his kingdom; and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church, doth properly belong to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the crown; and that his majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders, concerning the administration of the external government of the church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proponed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wisdom shall think fit; which acts, orders, and constitutions being recorded in the books of council, and duly published, are to be observed and obeyed by all his majesty’s subjects; any law, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding: likeas his majesty, with advice and consent foresaid, doth rescind and annul all laws, acts, and clauses thereof, and all customs and constitutions civil or ecclesiastic, which are contrary to, or inconsistent with his majesty’s supremacy, as it is hereby *asserted*, and declares the same void and null in all time coming.” *

This was decidedly a stab under the fifth rib. This act was justly disliked by all parties, as totally

* Act anent the Supremacy, 16th November, 1669.

subversive of all ecclesiastical authority. Lauderdale, dreading Archbishop Burnet's opposition, had, by a most unconstitutional stretch of power, confined him to his diocese. Gilbert Burnet seems to have hit upon the right, or at all events, the most plausible motive for the passing of this act. He says, that Lauderdale had discovered the secret of the Duke of York's religion; and, by laying the Church of Scotland at his mercy, paved the way for handing it over to the pope's pastoral care, and for securing to himself a long lease of power.* The primate and the other bishops made a vigorous, though ineffectual opposition, and thereby incurred the wrath of Lauderdale. The primate argued the point zealously, and was repeatedly interrupted by the commissioner, who remarked, that "my lord St. Andrews would not allow the king's supremacy in the terms of the act, because he supposed he designed that for himself."†

In his sermon before the parliament, the primate stated "three pretenders to the supremacy—the pope, the king, and the general assembly of the Presbyterians; and had, in a long discourse, disproved all their several pretences; for which it was thought he would have been *turned*

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 419.

† True and Impartial Account, p. 65.

off (!) if the Archbishop of Glasgow had not suffered so lately."* This shows the arbitrary nature of this act, and the purpose for which it had been enacted. Indeed, "the reason why he (the Archbishop of Glasgow,) was not presently turned out of his bishopric was, because his enemies were not as yet fully assured that the clergy would consent to the Act of Supremacy, if they found it would produce such effects: but how soon that act was past, his majesty by a letter, as supreme head of the church, declared his see vacant, and he was moved to resign it in his majesty's hands; for which some blamed him, as an act of too much despondence and fear in him; but he was induced to do it, by the vows they made to pursue him as a traitor, if he did not; the ground of which process they intended to found upon the former letter," to Sir H. Bennet, "which was said to be the lying betwixt the king and his people. But to this it was answered by some of his friends, that he needed not fear that accusation, seeing *it was palpable* now to the world, that the fanatics *had been assisted by some councillors*; for by the Indulgence many of them were restored to their former ministry. Thus he (Archbishop Burnet,) went off the stage, generally admired, even by the fanatics themselves, for preferring his conscience to his gain, and for

* Memoirs, p. 159.

fearing nothing but to offend it; and by his example we may see how advantageous it is to adhere to the principles we have once owned.”*

The clergy were alarmed at the prostration of all ecclesiastical power, before the Act Assertory; and so vigorous was the primate's opposition in parliament, that it produced a misunderstanding with Lauderdale. It is quite evident, that by the authority of this act, the king might do just what he pleased with the affairs of the church. He might pull down the established Episcopacy, and set up Presbytery or Popery, as he chose. Burnet admits, that “many of the Episcopal clergy, Nairn and Charteris in particular, were highly offended at the act. They thought it plainly to make the king our pope.”† He says further, of the arts resorted to in order to carry the bill—Lauderdale cajoled the Presbyterians, that it was necessary to keep the bishops down, by making them depend absolutely on the king. But the Earl of Tweeddale protested to Burnet, that the *chief* object of this bill was to be an *indemnity* to the council, for enacting the Indulgence in such an arbitrary and unconstitutional way. *It screened the king's ministers from impeachment, for having superseded acts of parliament by an act of council.*

* Memoirs, pp. 158, 159.

† Own Times, p. 482.

The Erastian Act Assertory therefore, it would plainly appear, was a plan of the Presbyterians to humble the church, and screen the king's ministers from impeachment for high-treason. It was generally known at the time, "that it was contrived by Mr. Robert Douglass and several of his brethren, in concert with some of the king's ministers, in order to secure and justify the Indulgence, and make it as good as legal. Besides, some of the statesmen had this in their view, that their actions in this and other affairs, would be less censured, while two parties were contending; and that by encouraging them to be jealous of, and bandying them against one another, they might serve their own turns of either or both. Though it be almost demonstratively certain, that the principal design of this act was to do a kindness to the Presbyterian party, and to justify all the tolerations or favours those of their faction could procure from his majesty on their behalf, and consequently, that it was at first devised by themselves; yet so unreasonable are some men, that there is not one topic of slander and reproach insisted so much upon by these same men, against the then bishops and clergy, and their successors, as this; namely, that by this act they tamely gave up all their privileges and rights, unchurched themselves, and what not; though they very well knew that the bishops and churchmen

could propose no advantage to themselves by it, unless it were to have their rivals and irreconcilable enemies encouraged, and their interests promoted, to the eminent danger or ruin of their own, to which this did not a little contribute; and therefore, though there were no documents of it yet extant, nor living witnesses to inform us, yet we may rationally infer, that the regular clergy, if they were in their right wits, could not fail to oppose it: and so they did, as much as they were able, and as much as their calumniators could have done, had they been in their place; who, (the Presbyterians,) in their turns, have more than once truckled under to the state, and been made tools to designing courtiers, and have as little to boast of their intrinsic power as other people. But it is a jesuitical fetch, a serpentine wisdom, divested of the innocence of the dove, to dun the world with reproaching the Episcopal clergy, for suffering that which they could not help, and of which they (*the Presbyterians*) themselves, were the *principal contrivers*, and *who only reaped benefit by it*. The answer to this, perhaps, will be, (for I do not see what other they can make,) that the bishops and other churchmen, rather than suffer such an act to pass, should have dimitted their dignities and charges; (as, by-the-bye, the pious Dr. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, actually did;) that is, they should have

modestly given place to their inveterate enemies, and not only have abandoned their offices and livings, but brought on themselves anew all the miseries and calamities they had suffered in the glorious days of the Covenant.*

The author of the "Memoirs" alleges that the Remonstrance of the Glasgow Synod, was the pretext; but the real cause of his being "turned off" was, the opposition which they anticipated that Archbishop Burnet would make to the Assertory Act. Another reason has been assigned, which places the archbishop in a more amiable point of view than our adversaries are willing to allow. "After the defeat of the rebels at Pentland, anno 1666, Archbishop Burnet showed great inclination to have these people used with lenity, and when their affair came before the privy council, he laboured to get their lives spared, and went so far as to transmit an account of the proceedings of the council against the captive rebels, to the English secretary, Sir Henry Bennet, (afterwards Earl of Arlington,) to be communicated to the king. This the Earl of Lauderdale took to be such a piece of indignity done to his character, who was then secretary for Scotland, that he threatened the archbishop with a pursuit of high-treason, for revealing the king's secrets,

* True and Impartial Account, pp. 66—68.

unless he would make a session of his office ; to which this prelate yielded out of fear, and surrendered the office in the month of December, 1669.”*

The primate trusted that the king would not have accepted the ultra-supremacy, which this most improper act conferred ; but he was mistaken. The king approved of the act ; and the primate had reason to fear, that he himself should be deprived for his opposition to it ; but it seems that Lauderdale was “ ashamed to depose two archbishops in one year.”† His deposition, however, was debated in council ; but they could not find any one that would answer their purpose to put in his place. And as they dared not venture to depose him, they affected to show him all outward marks of respect. Lauderdale always spoke of him, and of all the bishops, with the greatest respect, as a blind to cover his designs, and also to please the king. He even passed two acts in their favour, on the 30th of November—one to make the parishes liable for the robberies which were frequently committed on the clergy, and the other inflicting severe penalties on those who refused to pay their stipends. “ The first of these acts was enforced

* Keith’s Cat. of Scots Bps. p. 266.

† Memoirs, p. 162.

as necessary, because ministers, to the great contempt of religion, had their houses robbed, and were *nightly pursued for their lives*, in all the western shires; so that they were forced to keep guards, which exhausted their stipends, and abstracted themselves from their employments. And albeit, those shires pretended that this was done by highwaymen, who showed their insolencies under the pretext of religion, calling themselves Presbyterians, and inveighing against the poor ministers whom they robbed, in the language of that sect; yet it was concluded that these insolencies were committed by those of that persuasion, (Presbyterians,) who were known to think that all injuries done to Episcopal ministers, were so many acceptable services done to God; and it was most probable, that the same zeal which carried them on to plunder, imprison, and execute all such as differed from them in the last rebellion, and to shoot at the Bishop of St. Andrews upon the street, might excite them to great outrages, when they were countenanced, as they thought, by authority, and under the silence of night, when they might hope for impunity; nor was ever the west country known to be infested with robbers at other occasions, so that they (the parishioners) were connivers at least in those crimes, and therefore deserved to be fined upon such occasions. These motives induced

the parliament to agree *unanimously* to this act." *

" Yet all this outward zeal for Episcopacy could never prevail with the bishops to believe Lauderdale their friend ; nor were the leading Presbyterians terrified at these, as marks of his disesteem ; because *fanatics* were *advanced* to all places of trust, and the friends and servants of the grandees (who could not dissemble so well as their masters) laughed at Episcopacy and the malignant party."† The bishops then had sufficient penetration to see the hypocrisy of the dissolute statesmen, who were constantly planting secret stabs under the church's fifth rib. It required considerable tact to ascertain who would take the see of Glasgow, now vacant, by the extension of the Assertory Act. The bishops were universally opposed both to that infamous act and also to the Indulgence. It was discovered, however, that Leighton was the only man of the whole bench who could be induced to enter into the views of the ministry. He seems to have been an extremely low churchman ; for we are told that " his great principle was that devotion was the great affair, about which churchmen should employ themselves ; and that the gaining of souls, and not the external government was their proper

* Memoirs, pp. 163, 164.

† Ib. p. 164.

task." It was supposed that he was the author of the Indulgence ; and he is said to have served with satisfaction under Presbytery and Episcopacy indifferently. " These principles rendered him a *fit instrument* in their present undertakings."*

Bishop Leighton was a very learned and pious man ; but he was a very *low* churchman, and altogether unfit for the Episcopal office in the difficult times in which he lived. " He knew nothing of the knave, so that the hypocrite of ordinary letters, from whatever quarter, with a dejecting whining countenance, and a large pretence to pietie, seldome went away without his designs."†

1670. On the 1st of January the council granted collation, under the Indulgence, and in virtue of the Assertory Act, to one Presbyterian minister, and on the 27th, to another. On the 3rd of March, six more received indulgences. These, with thirty-five indulged last year, make forty-three of the Deserters and deposed ministers who were restored to parish-churches. This number shows decidedly the system of " enormous lying" to which Kirkton and Wodrow resorted in compiling their histories. They modestly com-

* Memoirs, p. 161.

† Account of the Familie of Hamilton, of Broomhill, p. 60.

pute the number of deserters in 1662 to have been nearly *four hundred*! At that time the established clergy did not much exceed in all nine hundred; certainly did not amount to one thousand. The desertions were confined to the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway, and extended over the five counties of Galloway, Wigton, Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark. This is not an eighth part of the kingdom; but these authors make the deserters amount to nearly *one-half* of the whole clergy in Scotland! Their assertion is an enormous exaggeration, and which is distinctly proved by two facts: 1. that only forty-three were restored, although none refused the indulgence, but a few of the fanatical Covenanters; and, 2. after the Revolution, when the first Presbyterian Assembly was held in 1690, there were no more than *fifty* Presbyterian ministers could be found in all Scotland! It is impossible that three hundred and fifty could have been removed by death, in the short period which elapsed; but where were they—they were nowhere to be found at the Revolution? In truth, there were not much more in all than one hundred deserted their livings or were deposed; although such a false amount has been stated, and all subsequent authors have assumed Wodrow's exaggerated statement without enquiry or consideration. Yet these few Presbyterian ministers kept the west of

Scotland in a continual ferment and agitation ; while the rest of the kingdom, which was Episcopalian, enjoyed profound tranquillity. These Presbyterian ministers were the greatest enemies to their country which it ever saw. They occasioned more bloodshed, and arbitrary and severe measures, more trenching upon the liberties and freedom of the people, by their restless, lawless discontent, than the country had ever known. And, finally, the overthrow and nearly the annihilation of a flourishing church, *the choice* of the great majority of the nation.

On the 6th of January, Lauderdale intimated to the privy council, that Archbishop Burnet had resigned his office and dignity in his majesty's hands ; and he ordered his name to be expunged from the roll of privy counsellors. All that the king could take from him was his temporalities ; his spiritual character the king could neither give nor take away. He retired, however, into private life, and bore his disgrace with becoming dignity and resignation. From his more accommodating disposition, Bishop Leighton was appointed to administer the affairs of the diocese, under the title of Commendator. This was the first effects of the Assertory Act, and shows the wicked and insidious policy of its contrivers. Burnet's deprivation, without being first tried and censured by his brother bishops, was an unconstitutional, as

well as an unecclesiastical act of arbitrary power. Perhaps such another unjust act could not have been produced in the whole annals of the Christian church ; and was, most likely, the precedent for the deprivation of the nonjuring bishops, after the Revolution, both in England and Scotland. The dean and parson of Glasgow were reprimanded ; but afterwards pardoned and restored to their benefices. Gilbert Burnet was this year appointed divinity professor in the college of Glasgow.

It was twelve months after his appointment before Leighton undertook the duties of his new office, which he is said to have done with reluctance. The king sent for him to court, and on his return he presided in a synod, and preached ; exhorting his clergy to look to God, and consider themselves as the ministers of the cross of Christ—to bear the contempt and ill-usage they met with, as a cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience—to lay aside all appetites of revenge—to humble themselves before God—to have many days of secret fasting and prayer—and to meet often together, that they might quicken and assist one another in those holy exercises. Gilbert Burnet vehemently, but falsely, accuses the clergy of that diocese of vice, irregularity, and indiscretion. He instigated, therefore, the Comendator to make a thorough investigation and

purgation of the diocese of Glasgow. Prejudice and partiality were thrown into the scale against the clergy ; and the people were not only allowed, but invited, to accuse them. It is not therefore surprising that nearly a hundred were quickly indicted ; yet out of the whole diocese only *one* was found worthy of deposition or even of rebuke ; and he not without strong allegations of injustice. Burnet was himself obliged at last to confess that the clergy of that diocese had been grossly maligned ; and he might have added, that he himself had aided in circulating the infamous slander. He acknowledged that their calumniators were actuated purely by the spirit of malignity.

Field conventicles became now very frequent and annoying to the peaceably disposed. At the meeting of the rebels at Lanark, in the year 1666, it was then resolved, “ that it was lawful for them to defend themselves from violence, and preserve their liberty in the exercise and during the time of worship : and therefore they resolved, that at their said field-meetings, as many of the young men as had fire-arms should come armed, not to use violence against any one, but to resist the dragoons, in case they should fall upon the meeting, or lay hold of any of the people going to or coming from it.”* In consequence of this resolu-

* De Foe's Memoirs, p. 187.

tion, those who attended the field-conventicles went fully armed. These seditious meetings became more frequent; and it was the intention of the ministers and leaders to overawe and compel the government to restore them to their former state. The people now deserted the indulged ministers, and followed those fanatical preachers who would obey no human laws, but force their governors into subjection to themselves. A multitude of armed Covenanters held a conventicle on the hill of Beith, near Dumfermline, in the month of June. Some of the king's guards came up to them for the purpose of dispersing them; but they were seized and blind-folded; and a Covenanter seizing the officer's horse by the bridle, drew a pistol and threatened to shoot him dead unless he was silent. The military party were detained prisoners till the conventicle broke up.*

On the 28th of July parliament met, and Lauderdale was the royal commissioner. An act passed subjecting all who deserted their parish churches to follow conventicles, to pay the eighth-part of their yearly rent. Many endeavoured to have this act confined to the five western shires, where such delinquencies alone happened; but it was extended to the whole kingdom. The fifth

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 156.

act respecting conventicles, shows either the tyrannical temper of Lauderdale, who brow-beat the parliament into passing it ; or else the dreadful nuisance which these conventicles were to the government and the peaceably disposed, which could render such an act necessary.

“ The act statuted and declared, that whosoever, without license or authority aforesaid, shall preach, expound scripture, or pray, at any of those meetings in the field, or in any house where there be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors (which is hereby declared to be a field-conventicle,) or who shall convocate any number of people to these meetings shall be *punished with death*, and confiscation of their goods.”

It was customary with the Covenanters to refuse to depose on oath to the names of any who were present at conventicles. It was therefore declared that every man should be obliged to answer upon oath all such questions as the council should ask, under pain of banishment or an arbitrary punishment. This was opposed as laying men under a necessity of divulging the secrets of friends, and thus rendering every man suspicious and jealous of his neighbour.

The members of this parliament were overawed into passing these severe acts by the frowns and violent interruptions of the commissioner. In the Scottish parliament, the king or his commissioner was always present on the throne during the

debates. "Lauderdale was become so lazy, and was naturally so violent, and by his majesty's favour and his own prosperity was so far raised above all thoughts of fear, that he never consulted what was to be done; nor were the members of parliament solicited by him or his friends, upon any occasion; whereas, on the contrary, he would oft-times vent at his table, that such acts should be past, in spite of all opposition" * There was an act passed against disorderly baptisms, which declared "that baptisms by persons not publicly authorized are scandalous to the Protestant religion." This is complained of by Wodrow, as unchurching all the reformed churches (so called) abroad. May we not, in turn, complain of the language held by his friends, that "all the bairns (children) that are baptized by the curates (Episcopal clergy), GOD reckons them as *children of whoredom!*" † And Dr. Burns, of Paisley, denounces the indulgence, which was so thankfully accepted by the sober part of the Presbyterians, and to grant which the privy council had arbitrarily and illegally superseded many acts of parliament, ‡ "as a snare." But indeed the lawless, discon-

* Memoirs of the History of Scotland, p. 181.

† Prelacy an Idol; sermon by Mr. Fraser, of Brae, cited in note to Kirkton's History, p. 305.

‡ Note to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 161.

tented Covenanters brought much severity and suffering on themselves, and undeserved obloquy on the church, by their seditious conduct. "Thus," says the author of the Memoirs, "these fanatics wronged their country, not only in breaking the good old laws, but in occasioning the making of too severe new statutes. And yet it was said by some, that it had been better to have made the new laws less severe, that they might have been the more severely observed; and that their laws were made so severe, upon *design*, that they might *not* be observed; and that the *fanatics might clearly see that the grandees were not in earnest.*"* The opposition made by the primate to the Assertory Act had created a misunderstanding betwixt him and Lauderdale; and which the subsequent conduct of that statesman had tended to widen. Indeed Lauderdale "now took a contrary course to obtain the same end," (*i. e.* to stab the church under the fifth rib), "and to make good what he had threatened upon the restoration of Episcopacy. For he, with his creatures and followers, and a set of men of his principles, screwed up the laws against dissenters to a higher pitch than before, but with a far greater design to load the church with the scandal of severity, than to rectify the disorders

* Memoirs, p. 190.

of the times, and the unaccountable methods of a giddy-headed people. Thus the Ecclesiastical establishment had to grapple not only with the sober as well as wild Presbyterians and missionaries from Rome, and other despicable fellows in their shape, but also with bosom enemies, and some who owed most to the royal bounty, and their underlings.”*

Into that act which subjected the field-preachers to the punishment of death, Lauderdale inserted, with his own hand, a clause which protected the papists. His object in this partiality was to acquire merit with the popish party and the Duke of York, whose religion was as yet unsuspected in Scotland; although to Lauderdale and the court of St. James's it was no secret. Burnet asserts that he said to him, that “he had put in these words on design to let the party know they were to be worse used than the papists themselves.” The king was displeased with the unchristian severity of this act, and would not have passed it, had he known that the preachers were under the penalty of death. It met with great opposition from the bishops in parliament. Leighton in particular said, “the whole complex of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to say Christianity, that he was ashamed to

* True and Impartial Account, pp. 68, 69.

mix in councils with those who could frame and pass such acts." Charles was not only displeased at Lauderdale for his acts of parliament; but his friends began to cool in their support. He had lost the friendship of Archbishop Sharp, Hamilton, Argyle, and Tweeddale; and he therefore called in his brother, the Lord Hatton, to his support in the council. It is said that Hatton had all his brother's *bad* qualities; but was deficient of his abilities as a statesman.

While statesmen were taking these severe steps in hypocrisy, the church herself was endeavouring to conciliate the Presbyterians. Leighton took great pains to soften their fierce opposition. In the first place he invited some of the most eloquent and popular preachers from other parts to itinerate in the western counties, and preach at different places. Gilbert Burnet was among the number of these preachers, and he says that, "the people of the country came generally to hear us, though not in great crowds. We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them." *

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 431.

This preaching crusade came to nothing, and the country people jeeringly called them, "the bishop's evangelists." Leighton made another effort; but which likewise failed, because those for whose benefit it was made, considered it as merely "a cunning and ensnaring proposal."

Immediately after the rising of Parliament, Lauderdale went to court; but returned to Edinburgh towards the end of the year. He wrote to six of the most eminent of the indulged ministers, requesting them to hold a conference with Leighton in the capital, in the presence of himself, Rothes, Tweedale, and Kincardine. Archbishop Sharp did not approve of the measure to be proposed, and therefore declined being present at the conference. Leighton's proposal was called an "ACCOMMODATION:" and the feeling with which the indulged ministers entered into this conference may be appreciated by the remarks of Wodrow. "The design of this," says he, "was nothing else but to hook in the Presbyterian ministers to an unperceived subjection to bishops. The snare was seen and prudently and cautiously evited." *


They met in Holyrood-house, and the meeting was opened by Lauderdale, who complimented them on their peaceable demeanour since their

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 177.

indulgence. He said, "he had sent for them to advise with them concerning an accommodation, and to propose an agreement upon joint measures, which might tend to the peace of the church." Bishop Leighton then spoke for two hours, on the evils and schism which they had occasioned in the church. Many souls, he said, were thereby in danger of being eternally lost; and therefore the utmost efforts ought to be made to heal the schism. For his own part, he said, he was persuaded that Episcopacy, as an order distinct from Presbyters, had continued in the church since the days of the apostles. He said, the world had everywhere received the Christian religion from bishops; and that a parity among clergymen was never thought of in the church before the middle of the last century, and was then set up rather by accident than by design. Nevertheless, since they were of another mind, he was now to make a proposal to them, by which both sides might still preserve their opinions, and yet unite so as to carry out the object of the gospel and their own ministry. They had moderators among themselves, he said, which certainly were no divine institution, but only a matter of order. He proposed that the king should name these moderators; and he did not think, that to make them permanent would be such an encroachment on their functions, as to

occasion any breach of the church's peace. He maintained, that to bless the permanent moderators by an imposition of hands, could be no degradation from their former office. Some might think, that this gave them a new and special authority, besides a precedence. But as they were not required to concur with them, further than in submitting to them as presidents, it did not much concern them. Besides, they should be allowed to declare their opinion in as full and free a manner as they chose respecting their views of this presidency. He spoke with great gravity and earnestness which made a considerable impression on the ministers; and he concluded by putting it to their consciences to weigh his proposals, as in the presence of God, and without respect to popularity or party.

Mr. Hutchinson replied, that a parity among ministers was their well-known sentiments; and that the presidency now proposed had formerly made way for a lordly dominion in the church. How inconsiderable soever the proposal might seem, yet its effects both had been and would still be very considerable. He therefore desired time for consideration, and for consulting with his brethren. As this, he said, might be construed into an assembling without law, he desired to have the commissioner's licence; which was immediately granted. There was a second conference,



in which the accommodation was more fully explained and urged. Lauderdale made the whole dine together, among whom was Bishop Burnet, and he himself joined them after dinner. "But," says Burnet, "Lauderdale could scarce refrain himself from flying out; for their (the Presbyterian ministers) behaviour seemed to be both rude and crafty. But Leighton had prepared him for it, and pressed him not to give them a handle to excuse their flying off, by any roughness in his deportment towards them." *

This accommodation was a palpable absurdity, and was neither Episcopacy nor Presbytery proper. The primate scouted it as a measure of expediency, which contained within itself the seeds of schism and division; and when the terms came to be generally known, the clergy were chiefly of the same opinion. The Presbyterians considered it as a snare—a specious appearance—meaning only to lay that generation in their graves in peace—in the next, Episcopacy would take root downward, and bear fruit upwards. Burnet says, however, that the far greater part of the nation approved of the accommodation; "and they reckoned that either we should gain our point, and then all would be quiet, or if such offers were rejected by the Pres-

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. pp. 493—4.

byterians, it would discover their tempers and alienate all indifferent men from them ; and the nation would be convinced how unreasonable and stubborn, and how unworthy they were of any further favour." Bishop Leighton sent six preachers round the west, to preach in the vacant churches ; among these was Burnet himself, Nairn, and Charteris, two very superior men. Of these, Kirkton says :—" The men were Mr. James Nairn, their paragon, a man of gifts, but much suspected as *unsound* ; Mr. Gilbert Burnet, (of whom before,) a man more disdained in the west-country than followed at London ; for though he speaks the newest English diction, he spoke never the language of an exercised conscience."* The object of this mission was, if possible, to disabuse the minds of the Presbyterians, and bring them to some terms of moderation. " In their meetings," says Burnet, " there was much sad stuff ; they named in some of them two, to maintain the debate *pro* and *con*. When we heard what their reasonings were, papers were writ and sent among them in answer to them ; but all was labour lost : hot men among them were positive, *and all of them were full of contention*."—" In short," he continues, " the Presbyterians may see how much their behaviour disgusted all wise,

* Kirkton's History, p. 292.


moderate, and good men, how little sincere and honest they were in it, when the desire of *popularity* made them *reject* propositions that came so home even to the maxims they had set up, that nothing but the fear of losing the credit they had with their party could be so much as pretended for their refusing to agree to them." *

The Presbyterians were, however, under needless alarm, that Leighton's accommodation was intended to be a snare to hook them into Episcopacy. No, it was a real stab under the fifth rib at the church herself; and she was indebted to Lauderdale's sagacity, for seeing, "and prudently and cautiously eviting" it. When at London, Bishop Leighton had been drawn into a conspiracy, perhaps innocently, for he was totally unacquainted with the wisdom of the serpent, by the Earls of Tweeddale, and Shaftsbury, and Sir Robert Murray. These drew up a set of Erastian regulations for the church, which would have effectually subverted Episcopacy and established Presbytery on an Erastian foundation. The church was to be governed by synods and presbyteries; but allowing no power to the bishop, who was to be degraded to the position of a constant moderator. When any

* Burnet's Own Times, pp. 500, 515.

irregularity should occur, the bishop was to enter a demurrer till he acquainted the king ; who was to interpose *his* authority. This was in fact Presbyterian government, flowing from the king as the source and fountain of Ecclesiastical power. This was truly to take the crown from Christ's head and put it on King Charles, and truly might such Presbyterian ministers be called the king's curates. The conspirators surreptitiously procured the king's consent to a set of rules and instructions for the Scottish bishops, written originally in the Earl of Tweeddale's hand, and a copy of which was obtained by Archbishop Patterson in 1680. The original copy was deposited at Ham, and the copy which he took is in the Episcopal chest at Aberdeen, in the archbishop's own hand-writing, and from which the following is copied. "But Lauderdale had the address to ward off the blow at that time very warily, by obtaining a private instruction from the king, referring all to his discretion, when going commissioner to Scotland." The following, are copies of the documents referred to.

"*Vera Copia*—taken by me, (Archbishop Patterson,) 3d of May 1680, from the original at Ham. Some constitutions and orders settled and emitted by his majesty concerning the administration of the internal government of the Church of Scotland and the persons employed therein.



“CHARLES R.

“We, having taken into our serious consideration how highly important it is for the preservation and advancement of true religion and the peace of the church and kingdom of Scotland, that the affairs and government Ecclesiastical therein established be duly managed, do allow and approve the practice of the bishops these years past, in that they have exercised the government and discipline of the said church, in conjunction with presbyters in their accustomed meetings of presbyteries and synods.

“1. And for establishment of the same good order and practice in time to come, it is our will, and we do ordain that the said bishops shall continue to manage all church matters with the advice, consent, free vote, and assistance of the Presbyters or major part of them, in the said meetings of presbyteries and synods, to the end that discipline may be regularly and exactly exercised, and all scandalous offences and offenders duly punished. We therefore will and ordain, that presbyteries shall ordinarily meet once a month, and the diocesan synods once a year, in May or June, in their accustomed places.

“2. Concerning ordination of presbyters, it is our pleasure that intrants to the ministry, being lawfully presented to a parish church, and bringing with them certificates of their having taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, be duly tried and examined in the usual manner, and if thereupon they shall be in all points approved, and found sufficiently qualified by the bishop, and presbytery, within which the said parish church lies, an edict shall be duly served at the same, and a day appointed by the bishop and presbytery for their meeting there in order to the ordination and admission of the person so presented and appointed, and that one of the presbyters be appointed to preach, and the people of the parish warned to convene at a fit hour, for the exercise of

divine worship, and to see their designed minister solemnly ordained by the imposition of the hands of the bishops and presbyters there present, and be exhorted to yield due reverence and obedience to him and his ministry in the same.

“ 3. But seeing the rules and duties of the ministerial office are fully expressed in the form of ordination,* and that the intransigent accordingly promise to observe them, our will is, that he having given his oath that he is free from all simoniacal pacton, no other oath or subscription shall be superadded or required of him.

“ 4. We further ordain, that the bishops reside constantly in their dioceses, except upon urgent occasions ; and that being in their dioceses, they preach every Sunday in some church thereof, unless they be hindered by old age, or sickness, or some invincible impediment.

“ 5. And we do will and ordain, that every minister with his church-session, be careful of the contribution for the poor, and their constant relief, according to the ability of the parish ; and likewise of the preserving and repairing the fabric of the church, in the way appointed by law ; and that they take notice of all public scandals, and gross offences within the parish, redressing such offences as they have been in use to censure and correct, and reserving and delating others to the Presbytery, as they have been accustomed to do, being always accountable and subject to the revision and recognition of the Presbytery, in all things acted by them at their usual meetings, as the presbyters are to be accountable for all their actings to the bishop and diocesan synod.

* “ *Nota.* There is no form of ordination appointed to this day.”—The foregoing *nota* is by Archbishop Patterson; the form in use was, and still is, the English Book of Ordination ; it must therefore have been a form intended for this special regulation.

“6. And to the end that good order may be the better preserved in the parochial meetings aforesaid, we do ordain, that besides every bishop’s particular visiting the parishes within his diocese, in which they ought not, and it is hoped, will not be deficient, there shall be frequently, in the summer season, more solemn and indicted visitations of such churches as desire or need them, by the bishop and presbyters, together with so many of the presbyters and moderators, as can conveniently meet at the time and places appointed.

“7. When we shall think fit to call a national synod of the Church of Scotland, it shall consist of the archbishops and bishops, deans of cathedrals, moderators of presbyteries, and one presbyter or minister out of each presbytery, chosen by the major part of the same, of one or two from the university of St. Andrews, one from Glasgow, one from King’s College, one from Marischal College at Aberdeen, and one from the College of Edinburgh; we, or a commissioner from us, being always present. And when we shall be personally present, such of our privy council as shall have place and vote in the said national synod, as we shall think fit to choose, which shall not exceed the number of fifteen; and when we send a commissioner to it, those of our council, chosen by us as aforesaid, shall be present, and assisting to our commissioner, and shall sit and vote in all things propounded in the synod, they not exceeding the aforesaid number. And the synod thus constituted is to meet at such time and place as we, by our proclamation, shall appoint; and is to debate, treat, consider, consult, conclude, and determine upon such matters, causes and things, concerning the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, as we, or our commissioner shall propound, or cause to be propounded, to the consideration of the said synod; and whatever shall be concluded by the vote of the major part of the synod, and shall be consented to

by us or our commissioner, shall have the full force of an ecclesiastical law or constitution of the Church of Scotland; and all our subjects ecclesiastical and civil, in that our kingdom shall, in all matters ecclesiastical be subject to the judgment, decision, and censure of the said national synod; and all inferior ecclesiastical meetings and jurisdictions in the said church shall, in all their actings and determinations, be accountable to it, and censurable by it, according as we or our commissioner, and the said synod, shall see meet to take cognizance and revision of the same.

“ 8. And upon the due publication of these regulations and orders, our will is, that all the ministers of the Church of Scotland shall thenceforward resort to the meetings of the presbyteries and synods to which they belong, and that none of them shall be allowed, upon any cause or pretence whatever, to plead exemption from the same.

“ These are the particulars, which we have thought fit at present to ordain, concerning church affairs in Scotland, as we likewise intend, by the assistance of God, to be careful in time coming, to add and enact such further ordinances and constitutions as we shall judge needful or useful for the promoting of piety and true religion, and for the establishment of good order and peace in that church; and these orders and constitutions being first recorded in the books of our privy council, and duly published, we do ordain to be observed and obeyed by all our subjects in that our kingdom, and for the recording and due publishing of the same, this shall be a sufficient warrant.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 6th day of July, 1670, and of our reign the 22d year.”

The following observations were by Archbishop Patterson:— “ These are written with Earl Tweeddale’s hand, and were consulted and con-

trived by his lordship, Earl Shaftesbury, Sir Robert Murray, and Bishop Leighton, by whom Duke Lauderdale was then beset, as will appear by a copy of a paper, written by Bishop Leighton's hand, here insert, and which original paper the Duke of Lauderdale hath still in his custody. The tenor of it follows, viz. :—

“ That the bishops shall manage all church-matters, with the advice, consent, and free vote of presbyters, in their several meetings of presbyteries and synods ; it being always provided, that they shall vote nothing contrary to sound religion, or the established laws of this kingdom, which, though it is scarce to be supposed that they will, yet if any such thing should fall out, in that case the bishop is to enter a demurrer, till the matter be represented to a superior synod of the church, or to his majesty by the council.

“ And because national synods cannot frequently be held, it were possibly very expedient that the provincial synods were appointed to meet *pro re nata*, either upon such occasions as this, or any other important concernment of the church.”

“ Now by all this, an apparent plot was formed, and design laid and contrived to subvert Episcopacy in the Church of Scotland, and to restore Presbytery under an Erastian regulation ; for bishops here were to have no negation over the meetings or actings of the Presbyters ; nor were these Presbyters to take any oath of canonical obedience, which is cut off by the foresaid orders

and regulations. All the power in these ecclesiastical meetings which a bishop was to have, was no more but in case of Presbyteries voting any thing contrary to sound religion and the established laws of the kingdom, to put in or enter a demurrer, till the matter be represented to a superior synod, or to his majesty, and that not by the bishop himself, but by the council. Is not this a very agreeable proposal from a bishop, in behalf of the church ?

“ His grace the Duke of Lauderdale well perceiving the ill tendency of this design and method, which he foresaw would entirely ruin and subvert Episcopal power and jurisdiction, had no other way to stave off and prevent the ill effects, but by procuring a private instruction from the king, when he went commissioner to Scotland, whereby the matter is put into his grace’s power and choice to publish, or enact these orders and regulations, as he should see cause, in the then parliament which was to be holden in Scotland, and so warded off the blow, which struck at the very root and foundation of the church, by not mentioning, nor enacting them, nor proposing them to be considered or enacted either by parliament or the privy council. The tenor of this instruction follows in this exact copy, whereof his grace still preserves the original :—

“ Private Instruction.

“ CHARLES, R.

“ Whereas we have delivered a paper unto you, signed by us, containing some ecclesiastical constitutions and orders, to be recorded in the books of our privy council, and duly published, you shall either impart the same to be recorded and published, or forbear it totally ; or shall do it soon after your arrival, or delay it to any other time, as you shall judge fit ; and if before the end of this session of parliament, you shall think fit to record or publish them, we do hereby authorise you to endeavour to pass such of them into acts of parliament as you shall judge expedient.

“ You shall, with the advice of such as you shall think fit, consider whether or not it be fit, that to the end the memory of the late unlawful Covenants may not be perpetuated, an act be passed, by which the declaration against the Covenants is not to be required of any who were not eleven years old, when the Covenants were last renewed in the year 1650, and so were not in a capacity to have taken them ; nor required of any who shall declare he never took these Covenants, nor any of them, and for the same reasons that the declaration shall not be required of any after the time limited in England, and accordingly, you shall either endeavour that an act be passed to that effect, or forbear the same.

“ You are to require the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews to allow and authorise the transportation of such ministers as shall be lawfully presented to any of the churches within the diocese of Glasgow, and approved by the Bishop of Dumblane,* out of any church within the diocese of St. Andrews ; and that he inform the bishops within his province to do the like.

* Dr. Leighton, as Commendator of Glasgow, and Bishop of Dumblane, is here meant.

“ If you find it fit to publish our orders and constitutions, you shall in our name signify to the archbishops and bishops, that our pleasure is, that no minister be prejudiced nor molested for his private opinion concerning church-government, providing he joins with the church-meetings, and submit to the present government, and in his preaching, and all other parts and exercises of his ministry, and in his whole conversation do behave himself peaceably and orderly, as becometh a minister of the gospel.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 7th day of July, 1670, and of our reign the 22d year.


“ C. R.”*

This is another of the many evils arising out of the Assertory Act, which, in fact, threw the whole ecclesiastical power into the hands of the sovereign, or the minister for the time being. We are, however, indebted to Lauderdale for detecting and dissipating this Erastian conspiracy. His prudence and good conduct upon this occasion is a curious contrast to his threat of thrusting the church under her fifth rib, which, if true, we may hope was one of those sins of infirmity, of which it is said he was often guilty, of “ speaking rashly and unadvisedly with his lips.” Indeed, Lauderdale’s whole administration is a problem very difficult to solve : both parties have generally accused him of having betrayed them, and his conduct too frequently gave just grounds

* MSS. Episcopal Chest at Aberdeen, No. B 4.

for the suspicion. In this instance, however, he rendered the church a real service, which was in a fair way of being betrayed by one of her own pastors.

1671. There seems to have been some degree of quietness this year; and Wodrow admits that "neither ministers nor people were much discouraged." In January Bishop Leighton held another conference with the Presbyterian ministers. In the name of the Presbyterian body, Hutchinson said they had considered the propositions, and were not satisfied in their consciences to accept them. Leighton still urged a public conference, in the hearing of all who wished to be rightly informed; but this was declined. Leighton then asked Hutchinson whether he had any thing to propose on their side for healing the breach; but he had no proposal to make. "Upon this Leighton, in a long discourse, told what was the design he had been driving at in all this negotiation; it was to procure peace and to promote religion. He had offered several things, which he was persuaded were great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy; yet since all church power was for edification and not for destruction, he had thought that in our present circumstances, it might have conduced as much to the interests of religion, that Episcopacy should



divest itself of a great part of the authority that belonged to it, as the bishops using it in former ages had been of advantage to religion. His offers did not flow from any mistrust of the cause: he was persuaded Episcopacy was handed down through all the ages of the church from the Apostles' days. Perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made; yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it. Now that they had thought fit to *reject* these concessions, *without* either offering *any reason* for doing it, or *any expedient* on their side: therefore, the *continuance of our divisions must lie at their door, both before God and men*. If ill-effects followed upon this, he was free of all blame, and had done his part. "Thus was this treaty broken off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of Sharp and the rest of the bishops." *

Dr. Wishart, the pious and exemplary Bishop of Edinburgh, died in July this year. On the 29th of August, Lauderdale wrote to the primate respecting his successor; and stating it as his opinion, that no Presbyterian should be raised at once to the dignity of this see. He very justly

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 514.

argued that some of the other bishops who had experience, should be translated to Edinburgh, and a Presbyter consecrated for one of the inferior sees. At the same time he requested to know whom the archbishop judged to be fittest for so important a dignity.* Notwithstanding Lauderdale's recommendation, Alexander Young, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was promoted to the bishopric of Edinburgh. Among the Episcopal papers the *congè d'elire* is preserved, to our trusty and well-beloved, the dean and chapter, together with a royal letter, to the bishop elect. Mr. Young possessed this see till the year 1679, when, by the powerful influence of the Duchess of Lauderdale, he was translated to the see of Ross, in order to make room for Dr. Patterson.† An Act of Council ordered all the indulged ministers to confine themselves to their respective parishes. The council instructed the Lord Advocate to execute the provisions of the Conventicle Act. Representations were made to the council of the increase of popery, especially in the north, where four priests were arrested; but they were not punished. Swarms of Jesuits and seminary priests were dispersed through the kingdom, disseminat-

* Papers in Ep. Chest, Aberdeen.

† Keith's Catalogue, p. 64.

ing Tuberville's Catechism, relics, beads, pictures, scapularies, and similar trumpery. The Episcopal clergy preached zealously against the errors of popery; but informations against the papists were not much encouraged.

CHAPTER VII.

1672. Lauderdale created a Duke—His offices—Severities on the keepers of conventicles—Toleration—Lauderdale's policy—More ministers restored. 1673. Opposition in Parliament. 1674. Prorogation—Opposition—Welsh—Riotous assemblage of women—Act of Grace—its evil effects—Lauderdale—his letter to the primate—Mitchel's arrest—Act of Council—Forrester deposed—Archbishop Burnet restored—King's letter—Leighton's letter—Agitation for a National Synod—Primate's letter to Archbishop Sheldon—Bishop of Dumblane translated to the isles—Conventicles—Secret connivance—Complaint of the Glasgow clergy—Death of Bishop Hamilton. 1675. Letters of intercommuning—Bishop Burnet—Archbishop Patterson's letter to the Primate—Bishop Ramsay's letter to the Primate—his reply—Primate's return—Commission of enquiry on the Bishop of Dumblane—his defence—restored to his See—Grievance of the Assertory Act—Test—resisted—withdrawn. 1676. Clergy assaulted—King's letter restoring the Bishop of Dumblane and clergymen—Arrest of Kirkton—Further indulgence—Remonstrance against it—More conventicles—Welsh—Army kept in readiness in Ireland to enter Scotland—Highland Host—Transactions in the disaffected counties—Death and translation of several bishops.

1672. THE Earl of Lauderdale was now at the zenith of his power, supported by the king's

favour and the French interest. It was generally supposed that the chief cause of his greatness arose from his subserviency in attempting to establish an absolute monarchy in England. On the 2d of May he was created a duke, and sent down royal commissioner to hold the third session of parliament. He was a knight of the garter, lord high-commissioner, president of the council, sole secretary of state, commissioner of the treasury, governor of Edinburgh-castle, and of the state-prison of the Bass, agent at court for the royal burghs, and an extraordinary lord of session. He pressed the penalties of the Conventicle Act on the Covenanters, who obstinately broke through it when opportunities offered. He arbitrarily fined many gentlemen; and then, it is said, he brutally insulted them on payment with the insolent joke, "Now, gentlemen, you know the rate of a conventicle, and shame fall them that tires first." *

Parliament, which opened on the 12th of June, commenced with laws for the protection of the church, and made the keeping of field-conventicles death. To prevent the perpetuation of the schism by new ordinations, they declared the ordainers to be deposed; and those ordained by such as were deposed, to be punishable with

* Kirkton, p. 325.

death !* “The scheme of persecuting the Presbyterians was now taken out of the hands of the prelates, and *converted into a fund* for supplying the necessities, or gratifying the avarice of Lauderdale’s friends.”† An indulgence or toleration having been granted to the non-conformists in England, it was resolved to extend the same to Scotland, and Lauderdale had the king’s commands in conformity. He has been accused of concealing his majesty’s instructions for some time ; but it became public, and about twenty of the Presbyterian ministers met together, and applied to Sir James Dalrymple of Stair. “Their behaviour,” says Guthrie, “was indefensible. The letter they drew up to Dalrymple was *treasonable in the last degree* ; and none could be found mad enough to present it. Three acts of parliament, establishing indulgence, were however passed ; but though it was more extensive than the last, it gave little satisfaction to the leading enthusiasts, who termed all interposition of the civil magistrates in ecclesiastical affairs downright Erastianism. In short, from the account given by Mr. Wodrow himself, there *was no satisfying their party* ; and that the *greater indulgence* they met with, the *greater was their opposition*

* Memoirs, p. 220.

† Guthrie’s General History, vol. x. p. 153.

to civil authority. This gives some colour for the apologists, for the prelates, and the ministers, who lay the blame of all the sufferings of the Presbyterians *on their own frantic behaviour and principles.*" * Burnet says, Lauderdale looked on nearly two months after he came down to Scotland, waiting for an application for liberty of conscience. " But the designs of the court were now clearly seen into. The Presbyterians understood, they were only to be made use of in order to the introduction of popery, so they resolved to be silent and passive; upon this he (Lauderdale) broke out into frantic fits of fury and rage against them, and carried matters so far, that when he (Burnet) asked him, was that a time to drive them into rebellion? Yes, said he, would to God they would rebel, that so he might bring over an army of Irish papists to cut all their throats."† But the disappointment experienced by the Presbyterians was owing to the discovery of a correspondence which they held with the Dutch, for raising a rebellion in Scotland. Carstairs, a Presbyterian minister, came over as bearer of a number of letters; some of which were written in cypher and others in white ink. The correspondence was very mysterious, and much

* Guthrie's General History, vol. x. p. 155.

† Own Times, vol. ii. p. 341.

information was referred to Carstairs himself, who made his escape. Arms and munitions of war were promised, provided they were in a condition to rise and disturb the government.

In conformity with the first act of this session, 3d of September, about eighty of the Presbyterian ministers were inducted into different parishes of the west. Before accepting of this indulgence they held many stormy meetings, and it was not without considerable opposition that they at last agreed to accept it. Indeed they seemed to scruple to do any thing under authority. "And truly," says Kirkton, "the entrance of some of the indulged brethren made some wonder; for some when they entered would not have the bell rung to be a testimony against the evils in the indulgence; and some, when they had preached the year, and received the stipend, denied they had taken the indulgence, affirming they had only intruded into the church, and *the contentions of the brethren* were like the bars of a castle."* "But after this, great was the discontent, both of the indulged ministers and likewise of the zealous people, *reflecting sore upon the ministers' behaviour* in that time of their trial, but *they all* got home to their churches, except Mr. Alexander Blair, who died in prison. Many of them pre-

* Kirkton's History, pp. 324 to 336.

sumed upon their people's affections, which indeed had formerly been very fervent, *but now* they found the *scene altered*, and were, to their great grief, *treated with no less reproach than the nickname of council-curates.*"* So here the poisoned chalice was commended to their own lips ; and the very men whom they had deluded with their anti-social sophistry, and had taught to despise and rebel against all lawful authority now turned round on their teachers, and made them feel, in their turn, the value of their antichristian instructions.

1673. The history of this year presents little of interest in ecclesiastical affairs, save the determined obstinacy of the Covenanters in holding what were now illegal conventicles ; the scrupulosity also of the indulged ministers, in raising minute and trifling objections to the regulations of the privy council. These were encouraged in their restiveness by a powerful coalition which was formed in parliament against the Duke of Lauderdale. All the acts of that unprincipled minister's maladministration underwent a rigorous scrutiny. Immediately after making his speech, as commissioner, on the opening of parliament, the Duke of Hamilton moved that the state of the nation might be considered, and grievances

* Kirkton's History, pp. 338, 339.

redressed. Lauderdale was taken by surprise, having no suspicion of such an opposition. At first he endeavoured to intimidate the members, but the opposition was too firm to be shaken by big words. He then attempted to break it up by short adjournments, and offered to remove some of the principal grievances complained of. This was not thought sufficient, and it was moved that a true state of the nation should be laid before his majesty. Fresh matters of complaint presenting themselves, Lauderdale adjourned them on the 9th of December, after sitting only five times.* There was nothing done in this parliament in ecclesiastical affairs. "The bulk of the Presbyterians were instructed from Holland to look upon all the indulgences that had been offered them as no better than preparations for the toleration of popery; and I am inclined to think, that *some very unwarrantable connexions* were now formed between the Scotch and the Dutch Presbyterians."†

1674. Parliament was still further prorogued on the 25th of January, to the following March. The king desired Hamilton and Tweeddale to come up to London, and give him a true account of the state of affairs. They could not do this with a due regard to their own safety, on account

* Memoirs, p. 250, 262. † Guthrie, vol. x. p. 158.

of the statute of leasing-making; but an anonymous letter was put into the king's hand, containing their sentiments. They requested that a new commissioner should be appointed for the next session of parliament, but that the Duke of Lauderdale might hold his places of president of the council, commissioner of the treasury, and have a full pardon. That the new commissioner should be empowered to redress all grievances, both civil and ecclesiastical, and that a general act of oblivion and indemnity should pass. To counteract the combination against him, Lauderdale suddenly attached himself to the Presbyterians, and became intimate with some of their patrons. Burnet says, that he connived at the Presbyterians, in their insolent contempt of the laws; and allowed them to take possession of one of the principal churches in Edinburgh.

“Immediately after Lauderdale went to London, the fanatics began to preach openly everywhere; and one Master Welsh did keep conventicles in Fife, drawing at first the rabble, but at last even the gentry, to follow him. He was a person of much courage, but no parts; and yet his courage was more raised by the hopes he had, that the chancellor, being dissatisfied, would be pleased to see that the present governors could not suppress these insolencies; though he and all the other fanatics did pretend that the Duchess

of Lauderdale had promised to procure them indulgences, and it is probable, that to amuse so strong a party, she had used some such womanly compliances. Nor did these confusions contain themselves long in Fife; for they soon, like feeding flames, seized Lothian, where many pulpits were entered by their preachers, and even the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh, was broke open for them; and petitions for able ministers were given into the council, by many hundreds of women, who, on the 4th of June, filling the Parliament-close, threatened the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who passed along with the chancellor, for whose coming he had waited in his own chamber, and some of them had conspired *to set upon him*," (that is, to murder him,) "when a woman whom I shun to name, should raise her hand on high as a signal; to prevent which, the chancellor, by entertaining the woman with insinuating speeches all the time, as he passed to the council, did divert that *bloody design*. When they were entered the council-house, they called immediately for guards, and ordained that the tumult should be inquired into, and its authors punished; and accordingly, many of them were banished on the 24th of November. The gentry also of Fife were fined for having been at these field-conventicles,

and forces were raised to prevent future disorders."*

The woman of whose name the author of the Memoirs was so tender, was Johnston of Warriston's daughter. One of the Amazonian patriots seized the primate by the throat, calling him Judas Iscariot, and exclaimed, "*Ere all was done, his neck behoved to hang for it.*"†

Before Lauderdale returned to court, he passed an act of grace, by virtue of a letter from the king, on the 24th of March, wherein all accession to conventicles previous to that day was pardoned. This was proclaimed with great solemnity at the market-crosses, by all the magistrates in their robes. The effect of this indemnity, Kirkton admits, was rather considered an encouragement for the future, than a remission for the past: "and from that day forward, the truth was, Scotland broke loose with conventicles of all sorts, in houses, fields, and vacant churches: house-conventicles were not noticed, the field-conventicles blinded the eyes of our statesmen so much. So in different places, they fixed so many posts in the fields, mosses, mures, and mountains, where multitudes gathered almost every sabbath, till the time of the defeat at Bothwell-bridge."‡

* Memoirs, pp. 272, 273. † Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 269.

‡ Kirkton's Hist. p. 343.

“ But this spring began the Presbyterians, both ministers and people, to act very high ; almost all of them preached, not only in houses, but went to the fields or vacant churches.”

This then was the system which Lauderdale pursued, encouraging the fanatics at one time, and furiously persecuting them at another ; yet the whole odium has been laid on the bishops, although they were scarcely able to maintain their own ground, far less to persecute others. In fact, Lauderdale’s policy, which has been greatly assisted by the pious endeavours of Wodrow, was to attach the blame of all his own tyrannical acts to the bishops. Among the manuscripts in the Episcopal chest there is a letter from that incomprehensible statesman, to the primate, in which he conveys the king’s commands to him, to suppress all scandalous and seditious conventicles. This letter too is in the face of that indemnity, which he had granted before leaving Scotland ; so that *he* enjoyed the *merit* of granting the licence, but threw the whole *odium* of stopping its enjoyment *on the primate*. Could we believe the professions of politicians, especially such as he is represented even by his own friends to have been, we might suppose that he had been sincerely attached to the Episcopal church. We might suppose, too, that his threat of “ smiting Episcopacy under the fifth rib” was

a calumny invented by his enemies. Dr. Burns, in one of his notes to Wodrow, in which he always shows his malignant feelings towards the Episcopal church, says, " We have now to express our surprise that he (Lauderdale) should so long have retained the good graces of some good men among the Presbyterians. He seems to have *assumed the mask of Presbyterianism from selfish and hypocritical motives*, or, at least, his attachments this way were soon made to yield to considerations of crafty policy. He never forgot the *supposed* indignity that was put on him by the Covenanters, in requiring him to make public profession in the church of Largs, of his repentance on account of his accession to the engagement against England in 1648, under the Duke of Hamilton ; and, in the course of his nine years' confinement in the Tower of London, his mind seems to have undergone a complete revolution, so that by the time of Charles's arrival in London, in 1660, he was prepared to go all the lengths that were required in his keenest adherents. If he seemed for a season to take part with his old friends (the Presbyterians) it was policy, and not attachment which influenced him. His base hypocrisy appears in many instances."*

The prelates of that day, whose letters have sur-

* Burns' note to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 375, 376.

vived the storms of the Revolution, speak of both Lauderdale and his brother Hatton, as sincere and unflinching supporters of the church. Nevertheless, we cannot think that the measures which these statesmen pursued were calculated to command either the respect or the attachment of the bigoted Covenanters. Both the prelates and the king's government had the grand rebellion constantly before their eyes; and which seemed to have been to them an everlasting bugbear. This accounts for the severities practised against the Covenanters; who were treated not at all as schismatics from the church, but as *fomenters of sedition*. The government were apprehensive that men holding the same political opinions as the rebels in 1638, would, were opportunity afforded them, enact the same scenes of rebellion and bloodshed as these had done: and hence the severe and irritating measures, to stop these field preachings. The following letter was written by Lauderdale to the primate, on the subject of these seditious meetings:—

“ Windsor, 13th June, 1674.

“ My Lord,—I have not been able to write to your grace since I received your letter; but I hope the despatches which the king sent down by my brother will please you better than any thing that I could have written, seeing you will see, that notwithstanding of all the lies with which the faction was entertained in Scotland, his majesty has made it appear to all the kingdom, that he will not countenance such who did so

openly attempt against his authority and against the Articles,* which is one of the best flowers in his crown of Scotland. You will also have seen how that after the settling of the new commission of council, his first commands were to suppress those scandalous and seditious conventicles, which were (I am sure) too much countenanced by some whose duty should have obliged them to suppress them. And I hope the privy council, as now it is constitute, will vigorously obey the king's commands, and not make remonstrances against them, nor neglect the king's orders, which are so much in pursuance of the law, and so necessary for the peace and honour of the kingdom. Great endeavours have been used of late to alarm all England with the fears of a present rebellion in Scotland; but I hope, when those in authority shall do their duty, those seditious practices will quickly vanish; and whoever will be slack in that duty, the king will let him know how much he resents it.

“ I did inform the king, soon after the last council-day, what endeavours were used to have engaged synods to petition for a national assembly, and now it is apparent, the design was more against Episcopacy than against conventicles, as you will see clearly by a motion was made to the king, with which I desired my brother to acquaint your grace in my last letter to him; and, I am sorry to see by my last letters of the 4th instant, that that design is still carried on, and that some that I took to be more orthodox, have had too great a hand in carrying on that plot. I had a general account of the address of the Presbytery of Glasgow to that of Edinburgh for a meeting forsooth, which would have looked too like the late commission of the kirk, and of an address made by some ministers about Edinburgh for that effect. This looks too like the petitions of ministers before the late

* That constitution of the Scottish parliament, called the Lords of the Articles.

rebellion in the years 1637 and 1638; and I am sorry that some, whom I thought to have been more orthodox, should have had so great a hand in it. Always I did show that letter, which I received from an honest friend of yours and mine, and did read it every word to the king, whom I found very sensible of the danger of such practices, if they should go unpunished; and I am commanded by his majesty to desire your grace to confer with some of the clergy, of whom you are confident, and to send me your free advice what you think fit for the king to command upon this occasion; by which you will see, that the king will be very careful that the honour and authority of the bishops may be preserved, and all contrivances against them suppressed and punished. I hope you will be able to inform who have been most guilty, to the end they may know it is not safe to meddle with such edged tools, and them such as have been innocently drawn in, may be passed over. The king goes towards Portsmouth on Monday morning, and is to return hither this day seven-night, against which time, I hope to see a return from the Committee of Council, concerning their endeavours against the conventicles; and I desire to have as speedy an answer to this letter as may be. And though I am no more commissioner, yet in all stations I shall be found zealous and active for the government of the church, as it is now by law settled, and for its peace and happiness. And that I am, in a true sense of your kindness and friendship,

“ My Lord,

“ Your grace’s most humble servant,

“ Lauderdale.” *

The principal incident of this year was the arrest and examination of James Mitchel, “ the

* MSS. Episcopal Chest, Aberdeen, No. A. 10.

pious and exemplary youth," who attempted to assassinate the primate. On the 10th of February the "pious" Mitchel was examined before the lord chancellor, lord register, lord advocate, and Lord Hatton, when he acknowledged having wounded the Bishop of Orkney, but that his aim was at the archbishop. But as such a grave charge has been preferred against the primate, respecting this pious youth, I here insert the minutes of council which I myself copied from the MS. books of council in the register-office.

" 12th March, 1674.

" We, &c.—The lord commissioner his grace, and lords of his majesty's privy council, having appointed a committee of the council to examine Mr. James Mitchel, prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the said Mr. James being brought before the said committee, did make a free and voluntary confession of his accession to the rebellion and rising in arms, in the west; and that after he had notice of the same, he went from Edinburgh with Colonel Wallace to Kyle, and joined with the rebels there, and from thence came alongst and was with them until the night before the fight at Pentland-hills, and that at the desire of Captain Arnot he returned thence to Edinburgh, to speak with some persons the same evening there. And being examined upon the attempt on the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and who shot the pistol at the archbishop when the bishop of Orkney was hurt, in the month of July, 1668, he did declare that at that time, and the day that the said attempt was made, he was in the town of Edinburgh, and that he bought the pistol which he had about him, charged with three balls, when he was apprehended, about that time the bishop was shot, from Alexander Logan,

dagmaker, in Leithwynd ; but refused that he was the person that made the said attempt. But having retired apart with one of the said committee, he did there confess upon his knees he was the person, upon assurance given him by one of the committee as to his life, who had warrant from the lord commissioner and council to give the same. And did thereafter freely confess before all the lords that was upon the said committee that (he) shot the said pistol at the said archbishop, and did subscribe his confession in presence of the said committee, which is also subscribed by them. And thereafter the said Mr. James, in presence of the lord commissioner his grace, and council, did renew and adhere to the said confession. Also as to his accession to the rebellion and the attempt foresaid, and acknowledged he made the said attempt because he thought that the archbishop had a hand in troubling and prosecuting those that were in the rebellion. And nevertheless being brought before the lords commissioners of justiciary, and asked if he did avow that confession aforesaid, he did altogether *refuse to answer*, and to adhere to his said confessions, notwithstanding he was told by the lord commissioners of justiciary and his majesty's advocate that *if he would adhere to his said confessions that he should have the benefit of the said assurance, and if otherways he should lose the same*. Therefore the lord commissioner his grace, and lords of his majesty's privy council, do declare that they *are free*, and that the said Mr. James *ought not to have the benefit* of any such assurance or assurances, and the same is altogether void, and that the lords of justiciary and assize ought to proceed without any respect to the same. And further do declare, that the said Mr. James Mitchel is the person intended and named in the proclamation in the years 1666 and 1667, discharging any intercommuning with the rebels therein mentioned, and excepting the said Mr. James and the other persons therein from his majesty's favour and

indemnity, and no other (is meant) under the name of Mr. James Mitchel, though there had been any other of that name involved in the said rebellion." *

" For as much as Mr. James Mitchel is now imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as guilty of being in the late rebellion, in anno 1666, and attempting the assassination of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, by shooting of a pistol, wherewith the Bishop of Orkney was wounded. Therefore the lord commissioner his grace, and lords of his majesty's privy council, doe remit the said Mr. James Mitchel, to the commissioners of his majesty's justiciary, to be proceeded against for the said crimes according to law ; and grants authority and warrants to his majesty's advocate, to raise an indictment against him for the said crimes, before the lord commissioner, and to process and pursue him thereupon." †

On his first examination he confessed that he (" a preacher of the gospel and a pious youth") was engaged in the rebellion and bore arms at the affair of the Pentland-hills. He now, however, denied having made any attempt on the life of the archbishop, although he had formerly confessed it. As he had denied his confession, the council withdrew their promise of sparing his life ; and he was committed for trial. There being then no other evidence than his own confession,

* Act Mr. James Mitchel, Regist. Secreti Concilii.

† Act Mr. James Mitchel, Regist. Secreti Concilii, anno 1674, folio 55.

the lords of justiciary deserted the diet ; and he was sent to the Bass state-prison, where he lay till 1678.* Cruickshank's says that " he wrote a large letter from prison to a friend, *vindicating his practice*, and *owning* the principles upon which he went !" Vindicating murder ! "*pious* youth," indeed !

Another of Wodrow's " pious and learned" men was a Mr. Thomas Forrester, minister of Alva, who had openly set his bishop's authority at defiance, and kept conventicles contrary to law. He is called " the pious and learned Mr. Thomas Forrester, since the Revolution, professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews, whose memory is savoury in this church, and who being dead yet speaketh, by his solid and learned writings against Episcopacy." He had entirely absented himself from all the diocesan synodal and presbytery meetings, although repeatedly warned and summoned. By directions of the Presbytery of Stirling, their clerk wrote to him in August the preceding year, warning him that unless he took his place at their next meeting, the Presbytery would take such course because of his contumacy as is incumbent. He still refused, and wrote a defence of his conduct, and attacked the Episcopal government as unscriptural, &c. The

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 249. 252.

Synod of Dunkeld, therefore, deposed him from the ministry on account of "his contumacious, disorderly, and schismatical carriage, in absenting himself of a long time from the meetings of this synod, &c., and under his hand, in a letter disowning all our church-judicatories, and declaring them to be unlawful, and their exercise of government and discipline to be Erastian, and that the politic form of government is contrary to many oaths, vows, and engagements, which he is persuaded are binding upon these nations and posterity, &c." This sentence is signed by George Halliburton, moderator, and Henry Malcom, clerk, and is ratified by Henry Guthrie, bishop of Dunkeld, as follows:—

"We, Henry, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Dunkeld, having seen and seriously considered the above written act of our synod, deposing Mr. Thomas Forrester, minister at Alva, and the grounds and reasons thereof: we find the said grounds very weighty and relevant, and the sentence founded thereupon to be just and legal: therefore we do ratify and approve the said sentence, and interpose our authority thereto by thir presents subscribed with our hand at Meigle, the 4th day of May, 1674.

(Signed) "Henry Dunkeld."*

Under the powers conferred by the Assertory Act, the king removed Dr. Burnet from the see of Glasgow, and appointed Bishop Leighton, first

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 258.

as commendator, and afterwards to be archbishop. But Leighton felt the irregularity as well as the illegality of that step, and took a journey to London and resigned the archbishopric in his majesty's hand. Lauderdale endeavoured to persuade him against the resignation, but without effect. But having been impeached by the English House of Commons, as "a person obnoxious and dangerous to the government," and having such a powerful opposition in Scotland, he at last accepted the resignation. On hearing of the Assertory Act, and the unconstitutional deprivation of Archbishop Burnet, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other English bishops, remonstrated with Charles on the unprecedented impropriety of such a stretch of royal power. They represented to him the danger to the church at large,—that the example of Scotland might be extended to England; and that a hostile monarch and a flagitious minister might, by virtue of the Assertory Act, extinguish the church entirely. Archbishop Sharp was at court at this time, and united with Dr. Sheldon in representing the danger of the Assertory Act. "While these confusions continued and were fomented in Scotland, the church and parliament of England became mightily incensed against the Duke of Lauderdale, who finding himself in danger, laid aside his ordinary haughtiness, and lowered his

sails ; and in 1674 reconciled himself to Archbishop Sharp, who was then at London, by whose means not only Archbishop Burnet returned to his see, but the duke was readmitted to the favour of old Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury ; he giving all the signs of a sincere and humbled penitent, after which he never gave ground to be suspected by the clergy.”*

The king’s letter restoring Dr. Burnet to his see, is dated 7th September, and the act of privy council in conformity, is dated the 29th of the same month.

“ Forsamickle the king’s majesty, by a letter under his hand to the privy council of the date of the 7th instant, has signified that upon the dimission of Alexander, archbishop of Glasgow, 1669, his majesty did commend to Robert, bishop of Dumblane, the care of the diocese of Glasgow, and afterwards did nominate and present the said Robert to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, unto which, as his majesty is informed, he was not formerly translated ; and that now by the dimission of the said Robert, the said archbishopric of Glasgow is become at his majesty’s gift and presentation, his majesty has thought fit, on just and important considerations, and for the good of his service in the church, to restore, and doth restore the said Alexander to the possession and enjoyment of the archbishopric of Glasgow, &c.”†

Bishop Leighton was altogether unfitted for the see of Glasgow, even if he had acquired it in

* True and Impartial Account, p. 69.

† Keith’s Cat. Scot. Bps. p. 268.

a canonical way, from his easy unsuspecting disposition. Without the assistance of Bishop Hamilton he never could have managed the fiery Covenanters already fixed in his diocese, and the cunning hypocrites of that sect, who, under shelter of his good nature, were gaining admission. On the 1st of September, 1673, he wrote to the Bishop of Galloway, as follows :—

“ My Lord—Being remanded back to this station for a little time, I desired the enclosed, though I have found your lordship very ready to assist me upon such occasions as this relates to ; because if they shall frequently occur, as possibly they may, it might seem not so regular and warrantable to trouble you with them, without this signification of his majesty’s pleasure which will sufficiently excuse and justify us both in these instances. But at meeting, I may, God willing, give you a fuller account of the business, and the reason that caused such a thing to be desired, by, my lord,

“ Your lordship’s affectionate brother

and humble servant,

(Signed) “ Ro. Leighton.”

In this letter the bishop enclosed one from Lauderdale to the Bishop of Galloway, requesting him to assist Bishop Leighton in “ trying the spirits” of those who wished to enter to the ministry. It is dated Whitehall, the 9th of August, 1673.

“ My Lord—I am commanded to show you that, because of the large extent, and the many difficult affairs of the diocese of Glasgow, it is his majesty’s pleasure that you do all

the assistance you can to the present archbishop in the ordination of intrants to the ministry, and any other business relating to that diocese wherein you may be helpful to him.

“ I am your lordship's humble servant,
(Signed) “ Lauderdale.”

Bishop Leighton was not unconscious of his own failing, and therefore was glad to accept the assistance of Bishop Hamilton. “ Had the above archbishop known men as well as he did books, there had been little need for these letters: he was a very learned man, really pious, and knew nothing of the knave, so that the hypocrite of ordinary letters, from whatever quarter, with a dejecting whining countenance, and a large pretence to piety, seldom went away without his designs. But not so with the Bishop of Galloway: he had been the butt of their malice too long not to know where their poisonous schismatical trash lay. Therefore they were obliged to produce better testimonies and endure more strict examination.

“ This the archbishop knew very well to be his (own) failing, and had no design at all to return to Glasgow, neither would he if he had not got this letter for the Bishop of Galloway's assistance, with a promise of no long stay, so weary was this good soul of that country, and of the obstinacy in it; yet he abode until he heard of our good Bishop (Hamilton's) death, upon

which he immediately laid down his charge and went to London.”*

“I have been told,” says Bishop Keith, “that Dr. Leighton, finding his authority in the diocesan synod of Glasgow to be but weak under the title and designation of commendator only, that he might the better establish his authority, did procure a *congé d’elire* to the chapter of Glasgow, for electing him their archbishop, which was done accordingly 27th of October, 1671. But the Duke of Lauderdale, then prime minister of state, for some political considerations, did not ratify the election by the king’s letters-patent, as is usual, though his commendatory letters gave him a right to the revenues of the see. Bishop Rose of Edinburgh told me, that the election flowed from the archbishop himself, and not from a *congé d’elire*, and that was one of the reasons why it was not ratified by the king. Whether this did give a disgust to Dr. Leighton, as some apprehended, or that it proceeded from his profound humility and self-denial, it is however certain, that he went up to London and resigned the archbishopric as a burthen too great for him to sustain. The Duke of Lauderdale did all he could to divert him from this step, but to no

* Account of the Familie of Hamilton, of Broomhill,

purpose; for the resignation he would needs leave with the duke, who still declared he would not make use of it, and did so far prevail with Dr. Leighton, as to return to the management of the diocese, as if such a resignation had not been made. And this he continued to do until the year 1674, when the Duke of Lauderdale being impeached by the English House of Commons, thought fit, in order to gain to his interest the bishops of that nation, and by that means to ward off the impeachment, to make use of Bishop Leighton's resignation, and to restore Archbishop Burnet to the see of Glasgow, from which he had been expelled by the great power of the duke ever since the year 1669;—a proceeding which could not fail to be looked upon by all bishops as too heavy an encroachment upon the church. Dr. Leighton being thus eased of his Episcopal function, retired himself from the world, and followed a life of contemplation and piety. For some space, he lived within the College of Edinburgh, and then withdrew into England, where he died in the year 1684. It appears that the see of Dumblane had not been filled up till 1673, when James Ramsay, rector of Hamilton and dean of Glasgow, was promoted to this see.” *

Some of the Episcopal clergy had been for

* Keith's Cat. Scot. Bps. 267—269, and 183.



some time pressing the necessity of a national synod, "for considering the disorders in the church," and pleaded the law in its favour. The Bishops of Brechin and Dumblane, were the heads of this party, and Messrs. Turner, Cant, Robertson, and Hamilton were the chief promoters among the inferior clergymen. Their complaints, however, were considered by Lauderdale as evidence of their disaffection to his administration. These all being in the diocese of Edinburgh, petitioned their bishop, Dr. Young, who was much opposed to such a meeting. Wodrow, of course, seizes this opportunity of abusing the primate, who, according to his evidence, was the source and fountain of all evil, as well as its executor. He says, that the division respecting the propriety of holding a national synod, "will be an evidence of that anti-christian spirit of persecution that was in him, not only to his open adversaries the Presbyterians, whom he had deserted and resolved by all means to ruin, but also to those of his own kidney, when they came not up to any thing was his pleasure, as if he had been an infallible, visible head and vicar of Christ, or rather anti-christ, for Scotland." * When this design was first broached, it had a more alarming aspect than it afterwards assumed ;

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 300.

and the primate thought it necessary to write to Archbishop Sheldon, to request the king to refuse his assent to this synod. The letter itself is as follows :—

“ May it please your Grace,—Albeit, I have kept long silent, and my correspondence with your grace hath not been so frequent as formerly ; yet, like the son of Crassus, I must cry out, when my mother the church is in hazard, and I believe if I should hold my peace, the very stones would speak, for the gospel is now at stake. We are assaulted not only by foreigners, our old enemies the fanatics, who were never of us, but also, alas, my lord, there is a fire in our bed-straw, by sons of our own bowels, who, viper-like, seek to eat that which produced them. They are all crying for a national convocation of the clergy, upon no other account but to shake off our yoke, and break our bands asunder. I hope your grace will consider your own hazard, if disorders followed in England upon our distempers in Scotland; when our neighbour's house is on fire, it is time to look to our own. Their great aim and design is against me, who God knows, like Paul, have spent myself in the service of the church, and am yet willing to spend what remains. I believe no man can say I have run in vain. If I be not supported by his majesty's special favour, through your grace's recommendation, I shall inevitably suffer shipwreck, and that upon no evil or upon mine own account, but I see, that through my sides the church will be wounded. The only remedy is, to procure his majesty to discharge the convocation, which will calm the storm and quench all those malicious designs which are now on foot to disturb the peace of the church. They are already come to that height, that one Mr. Cant, a presbyter, has shaken off all fear of God, and regard for his canonical oath, in calling me a great grievance to this church. My dear lord

and brother, bestir yourself in this affair, and remember the words pronounced against those who are at ease, while their brother is in distress. So, recommending this to your care,

“ I am, my lord,

“ Your grace’s affectionate brother,

“ And faithful servant,

(Signed) “ St. Andrews.” *

“ For his Grace, the

“ Archbishop of Canterbury.”

Wodrow, is pleased to call the above “ a whining letter.” It certainly does not partake of the primate’s usual vigorous style ; and I am therefore much inclined to think that Wodrow has taken his usual freedom in adding, inserting, or withdrawing parts of it to answer his own purpose. It had, however, the desired effect. On the 2d of July, the archbishop complained to the privy council of the insolent carriage of Messrs. Turner, Robertson, and Cant ; whereupon they empower the archbishop and some others to examine them, with power to commit them if they see cause. The report of their examination was transmitted to the king, who wrote to the council, dated Windsor, 16th July, 1674, “ declaring that it was his royal pleasure, that the Bishop of Dumblane be translated to the isles, that the Bishop of Brechin be appointed to preach at the college kirk at Edinburgh ; and that the Bishop of Edin-

* Wodrow’s MSS., 4to. chap. vii., sec. 3, vol. 41.

burgh be directed to remove Messrs. Turner, Robertson, and Cant, from the exercise of the ministry in Edinburgh, and to prohibit their preaching in any place within his diocese, without licence ; and that Mr. Hamilton be removed from Leith ; and his majesty required the council to oblige the Bishop of Dumblane to repair to the isles within two weeks ; and that within ten days Turner remove to Glasgow, Robertson to Auchterless ; Cant to Libberton, and Hamilton to Cramond till farther orders." This is another confirmation of the dangerous tendency of the Assertory Act, which in fact made the king a pope, and laid the church prostrate at his feet. In conformity with the royal mandate, the council sent a macer to intimate the king's pleasure to the parties. Keith makes no mention of the translation of Bishop Ramsay to the isles, and which was not then vacant ; for Bishop Wallace did not die till the following year. But the matter did not end here ; and an Episcopal synod met next year at St. Andrews.

Field-conventicles increased amazingly. The men resorting to them went armed, prepared for hostilities, and determined to resist the lawful authorities. But such "pious" conduct cannot be surprising, when it is confessed that Lauderdale *secretly* encouraged such irregularities. "It is plain this favour (the indemnity) is cramped

and not at all full ; however, the common people in Scotland looked upon it as an *encouragement* as to the time to come, as well as a remission for what was past, in their following conventicles ; and it *may be* the duke *designed* somewhat of this by it. It was *confidently talked*, that his grace, before he left Edinburgh, *did secretly encourage conventicles*, and promised Presbyterian ministers a full and ample liberty, without restrictions and exceptions ; and this was the real spring of their taking so much liberty this year. And yet, when he got up to the king, the blame of them was laid on the other party, who stood by Duke Hamilton, and letter upon the back of letter, as we heard, was sent to the council to bear them down." * The severities on those attending these meetings were consequently increased ; "and indeed every week almost, letters came down from court, urging a violent prosecution of them, and all the *blame* of them was laid upon *the country party*, whereas it was generally thought that Lauderdale himself *had as much encouraged* conventicles as anybody."† Lauderdale's duplicity in this has been well seconded by the malignity of Wodrow, who has contrived to fasten all the odium of these measures on the bishops, who are indeed the

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 267.

† Ib. p. 270.

party that is here meant by "the country party." And yet, after all, Wodrow's authority entirely rests on a "may be," a "probably," "as we heard," and "it is generally thought," that Lauderdale had been guilty of the treachery with which he is so roundly charged.

There was a paper of grievances presented by the several presbyteries in the diocese of Glasgow to their diocesan synod on the 22d of October, to be presented to the commissioner. Wodrow admits, that it contains several *matters of fact*, as to the state of the Presbyterians. It commences with the allegation that conventicles still abounded more publicly and avowedly than heretofore—that the indulged ministers broke through all the rules laid down for the regulation of their ministry—that, in a conventicle in Kilsyth, the preacher *cursed* the king, his council, and the whole royal family—that both the field-preachers and the indulged ministers *preach sedition, and pray to the same purpose*—that "several horrid crimes are committed at conventicles, as incest, bestiality, child-murder, besides frequent adulteries, as our registers at more length bear."—"And to sum up all, we cannot but mourn, and do heartily testify to all the world, but more especially to your lordship, that all laws made heretofore against these, would not have been so condemned, were it not for the irregular ministers

and multitude with whom we have to do ; so that in the issue, they have proven to the great dishonour of GOD and our disadvantage, altogether ineffectual ; and this only from a *perverse principle* of *habitual disobedience* in the ministers and people, which, as we wish GOD to remove, so we heartily pray and beseech your grace to consider." *

In August of this year James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, died after a few days' sickness. "He was a man of a sprightly but ordinary stature, well seen in divinity, especially in polemics and the languages, with a good memory, accurate in the fathers and church-history, yet to be seen by the remarks upon his books. He was very pious and charitable, strictly pure in his morals, most kind to his friends, and most affable and courteous to strangers. He was a *Boanerges* in the pulpit, and every way worthy of the sacred character he bore.

"I find by the several letters I have, that there had been a very great intimacy betwixt that eminent prelate and martyr Dr. Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews and him, but mostly with respect to their respective affairs in the church.

"The bishop was very happy in a pious, fond, and virtuous wife. She knew his constitution,

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.

and did, under God, as abstemious as he was, keep him in a good state of health during her life; but for the seven years he lived after, his daughters being very young, and when come to any maturity, married from him, he took the liberty to manage his diet as he pleased, which generally was one roasted egg in the morning; a little broth, and perhaps nothing (else) about four; at night a glass of small ale to his pipe in the winter, and for the most part water in the summer. This, with his book, was most of the good bishop's food during the last seven years of his life." *

John Paterson, minister of the Tron church, and Dean of Edinburgh, was, through the interest of the Duke of Lauderdale, preferred to the see of Galloway, on the 23d of October. He was the son of John Paterson, bishop of Ross, and on his first entrance to the ministry, was presented to the parish of Ellon in the county of Aberdeen, thence he was preferred to the Tron church of Edinburgh.†


1675. Conventicles now became more frequent than ever, indeed the fifth-ribbed policy rendered their increase inevitable. By the same policy, Lauderdale directed the council to issue letters of intercommuning against ministers, or other indi-

* Account of the Familie of Broomhill, pp. 61, 62.

† Keith's Catalogue, Bishop Russell's edition, p. 282.




viduals either attending conventicles, or harbouring the ministers. An intercommuned person was proclaimed rebel and traitor at the market-crosses of certain towns, and "all and sundry our lieges and subjects, are charged and commanded, that they nor none of them presume to take upon hand to reset, supply, or intercommune with any of the aforesaid persons our rebels, for the causes foresaid, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual nor other useful thing, or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way, under the pain to be repute and esteemed art and part with them in the crimes aforesaid." Such was the privations and penalties with which Lauderdale visited those Covenanters openly, which, it was said, he was secretly instigating them to incur. An act of council peremptorily required the bishops and clergy to depose on oath against such of their parishioners as attended conventicles, which placed them in the most painful position. The design of exasperating the people against the church and churchmen was obvious, and with Wodrow's assistance it has been completely successful. Under one of these letters of intercommuning the Lord Cardross suffered prosecution, and was both fined and confined for harbouring Mr. King, an intercommuned preacher, in his house. Though the Eng-



lish parliament had denounced Lauderdale to the king as "the most dangerous and corrupt minister that ever scourged any nation," yet Charles still protected him. His great merit, in that easy monarch's eyes, was his assisting him to govern without the aid of parliament. Although his arbitrary conduct had been proved at the bar of the House of Commons, by his friend Bishop Burnet, yet Charles created him an English peer, by the title of Earl of Guildford, and gave him a pension of £3,000 per annum. Besides the letters of intercommuning, which were of themselves an intolerable scourge, twelve gentlemen's houses in the disaffected districts were converted into barracks.

It appears that Burnet had given evidence against Lauderdale, and he had entered into a strict friendship with the Earl of Kincardine, who was on bad terms with Lauderdale and Hatton. In relating an intrigue to ruin Lauderdale, the author of the *Memoirs* speaks of Burnet in not the most favourable way. He says, "For understanding whereof (this intrigue) it is fit to know that this Gilbert Burnet, being nephew to Warriston by his sister, had with her milk drank in that mercury which was inseparable from Warriston's family; and being whilst he was very young admitted into a familiarity with Lauderdale, because of the kindness that Lauder-

dale had ever entertained for old Master Robert Burnet, his worthy and loyal father, the young man arrived very early at as much learning beyond his years, as he wanted the discretion and solidity that was necessary for his profession. But being encouraged by Lady Margaret Kennedy into an amour, she, to revenge herself upon Lauderdale, because he did not marry her, engaged him into a plot against Lauderdale; in pursuance of which, Master Burnet finding that the king would not part with Lauderdale upon a naked address, suggested to some of the members of the House of Commons, that he could discover to them Lauderdale's accession to the bringing in of popery; and being examined, he deponed upon some expressions vented by Lauderdale, in a conversation, at which the Duchess of Hamilton and they two were only present. But yet the expressions being so improbable, and so capable of a good construction, even though they had been spoken, and the Duchess of Hamilton having, in a letter under her hand, disclaimed her ever having heard such words, and Master Burnet having, in an epistle dedicatory, posterior thereto, magnified the Duke of Lauderdale, as the chief pillar of the Protestant religion, the odium designed against the Duke of Lauderdale returned to the author, whom the best of his friends acknowledged to have betrayed friend-



ship, and all indifferent men to have wronged truth."*

In the end of the year 1674, Archbishop Sharp went to London, where he remained till August this year. Among the Episcopal papers there is a letter from the Bishop of Galloway, addressed to the primate at London, in which he corroborates the foregoing anecdote of the prevarications of Gilbert Burnet.

“ Edinburgh, 6th May, 1675.

“ May it please your Grace,—The privy council being adjourned till the 3d of June, I hope to wait on your grace here about that time. Nothing of great importance hath been done at council at this time. The Duke of Hamilton appeared much for Greig, the Non-conformist minister, and was well opposed, with calmness and reason, by my Lord Hatton, who never fails the king's nor the church's service; it were well with both to have many such true friends. The duke appeared much also for the three fined provosts, whose petition is now transmitted to the king. And it is with some complaints anent the Marquis of Douglass's troop hath been all the noise some have been able to make at this time, which is not of any great importance. Sir John Harper came to the town with the duke, whom I spoke with on the street yesterday, and told him the use Bishop Ramsay had made of what passed 'twixt him and me, on his last being here. He said that bishop was to blame to use my name, as giving the rise to his going to court; for he well knew, that before he saw him or spoke to him, he was determined to make that journey; but withal said, it might be, that apprehending he

* Memoirs, pp. 315, 316.

might be tried by your grace, with other bishops, he might the rather be induced to go to prevent it. I said, how could he dream (since he complained of not being heard or tried) to shun being tried by his ordinary and his peers. He said he had no mind to be judged or tried by your grace, and that he might desire to be heard and tried before the council. I said the council was no church judicatory, and a true bishop would not desire to appear so much of Erastus his mind, as to think so. He said, he would not say that the bishop did think so, and so our conversation ended.

“ Mr. Gilbert Burnet hath written to his brother, that it was sore against his inclination that he hath appeared against the duke, but that he was forced into it—which ill agrees with his actings, and what he hath signed, since none could force him, not being upon oath, to disclose such secrets as he pretends to reveal, and most look upon as forgeries and villainous contrivances of his own; and the rather, that the Duchess of Hamilton disowns what he says my lord duke said to her, anent bringing over the Irish papists. A nobleman to whom her grace told it, said to me yesterday, that she utterly disowns it as a lie, and said she never heard it; but when Gilbert Burnet asked of her if the Duke of Lauderdale had not said so to her, when she absolutely refused that ever his grace had said any such thing to her; and when a person of honour and malice enough against my lord duke, doth so contradict his testimony in that matter, which Gilbert Burnet says, was spoke to her by that duke, is it not reason to believe all the other accusations and informations to be so many villainous and infamous forgeries?

“ Though we all long for your grace's presence here, and stand very much in need of it, yet we cannot but be much satisfied with your being now where you are, and see ane happy divine Providence in it, whereby you have had ane opportunity to do so excellent service to the king, to the

churches in both kingdoms, and to so noble and worthy a friend to both as is my Lord Duke of Lauderdale, and thereby so much right to yourself, even in the eyes of your enemies, who, though they malign your grace for so doing, yet cannot but in their hearts acknowledge your integrity, resolution, and generosity. I can assure your grace of all our prayers, for your long and happy preservation amongst us, to be ane eminent instrument of blessing to this poor, unhappy church, and of none with more heart and fervour than the poor prayers of, may it please your grace,

“ Your grace's most humble and faithful
obedient servant,

“ Jo. Paterson.”

“ P.S. My good Lady Hatton presents her duty to your grace, and none alive can express greater sense of your kindness and greater honour for you than she.”*

It appears that Ramsay, Bishop of Dumblane, under the influence of excited feelings, had followed the primate to London, and while there, had addressed the following angry letter to him. He took this journey without leave either of the king or of his metropolitan, and in the face of the king's peremptory command, to go to the isles. The letter is in general terms, and brings no specific charge; but seems to have been occasioned by a morbid feeling of irritation, arising from personal pique: it is among the papers in the Episcopal chest, as is the archbishop's answer, in his own hand-writing. The correspondence is likewise in Wodrow's history :—

* MSS. Ep. Chest, No. B. 40.

“ London, 7th June, 1675.

“ May it please your Grace,—It is not unknown to your grace what obliged me to come to this place, or occasioned my stay so long in it. I have ground to believe it was you who abused his majesty's ears with that account, which his majesty takes notice of in his letter of 16th July, 1674; and was the ground of what his majesty was pleased to order concerning me, both in that, and the letter to the privy council, of the same date. It was you who not only intimated his majesty's pleasure, contained in your own letter, very surprisingly to me, and in an extra-judicial and unfatherly manner, without any ghostly exhortations, but also influenced the council to intimate their order, without previously calling me to be heard; and when I gave in my petition to the council, containing my purpose to give exact obedience to his majesty's pleasure, but only prayed them to represent my case to his sacred majesty, that, for the justification of my innocence, (since I was not called before sentence,) I might be put to the strictest trial anent these crimes informed against me, (a desire which, coming from the meanest laic, should for its justice have been kindly entertained by churchmen,) yet you know how vigorously you opposed it; yea, after the council was pleased, notwithstanding your opposition, to transmit my petition to his majesty's consideration, you shortly after came here, where you have stayed since, having no small influence on them who manage public affairs. It might have been reasonably hoped, that, as primate, you should have concerned yourself to help forward a favourable answer to the petition of a bishop of your own province, so just in itself, and so transmitted; or, though your grace had no regard to me, yet the consideration of the good of the church, in that corner where you know disorders are increased since my restraint, together with the danger of the preparation, should have prompted your grace to do somewhat to

bear witness, that your zeal for the church was stronger than your private pique at me. But since I came here, I have been amazed to find a person of your character and parts could think it worthy of himself and his pains, to make and spread such reports as I am told you have done. May I be so bold as to ask your grace, if indeed you believe me to be a fanatic, or upon what shadow of ground you either think or report it to others? Have you any letters under my hand, avouching that presbyterial government, even but for its substantials, is *jure divino*? or that I was thinking *de mutando solo*, when the parliament made the first discoveries of their inclination to restore Episcopacy? And your grace may remember, that I was sequestered by the usurpers, from the exercise of my charge, till the king's happy Restoration; and you know how early I discovered my persuasion towards church government, and how I acted for it in the Synod of Lothian, under the eye of the greatest patrons of Presbytery; and do you think I am turned fanatic, because a bishop? I beseech your grace to consider how unjustifiable those slanders will be, when put to the touch. Wherefore, I desire (I shall not say the favour, but the justice of you,) that you may either choose an indifferent person, who may consider your allegations, with their evidences, and my answers; or that without more noise (considering that my sufferings already are far above the merits of all you can lay to my charge) you will be pleased to interpose and wipe off the dirt by the same hand that threw it on me, whereby I may be restored to his majesty's favour, and my just right: by doing whereof, you may cross a lust of malice, but can neither wound conscience nor honour. But, if you please neither of these, nor any thing else than my being a holocaust to your revenge, then let me beseech you to allow me the same freedom in representing you, which you have taken concerning me: and I assure you, though I will have foul things to re-

present, I will do it in fairer manner than that in which you used me. My lord, if you think strange of the terms and manner of this address, I must be excused; for I would not put what I was obliged to say in fairer or better expressions; nor can I believe you should expect I would come to trouble you myself, after you had often discovered your displeasure when I waited on you, and required me to be gone out of your own house after you had called me to it, and at length pursued me to this height and continuance of suffering, without just grounds. However, my lord, I have a just veneration for your character, and shall be loath to dishonour any that bears it, if you do not constrain me, by continuing to oppress me unjustly, and by continuing to shut up against me all avenues of redress: yet even when this force shall be put upon me, I will endeavour to follow such methods as are agreeable to the canons and practice of the church in such cases, so much as unavoidable circumstances will permit me. And herein I desire not to be mistaken, as if I sent this out of any trifling vanity to fret you; I do it not, but out of duty to warn you. They are no trifles I have to say; and if you contemn this warning, I will be exonerated before God and men to publish them. But I hope and desire you will prevent me, by taking sober resolutions; for I declare upon my honesty, that no man knows that (much less what I have written) so that it is in your power yet to make it public or keep it quiet; do which pleases you; but let me assure you (though you would seem not to believe it) that I am a true son of the church, a zealous lover of order, and due subordination in it; and wherein you are truly for these, you shall never find me other than may it please your grace,

“ Your grace’s most faithful servant,


“ Ja. Dumblanen.”

“ If your grace return no answer this or the next day, I will conclude you resolve to give me none.”


To this angry and vituperative letter the archbishop returned a calm and dignified answer ; in which he denies the charges in the same general terms in which they were made. No light is thrown upon the cause of their misunderstanding, but the Bishop of Dumblane seems to have been irritated by some designing enemy of the primate, and to have unjustly suspected that he had rendered him some ill offices. Indeed the Bishop of Dumblane's letters but too evidently show that he "laboured under the infirmities of impotent rage and exasperation of spirit." The archbishop's answer is mild and temperate, and conveys some just reproofs.

" Ax-yard, 8th June, 1675.

" My Lord,—Yesterday, in the morning, while I was going from the Privy-garden to the Park, a serving-man put a letter in my hand from your lordship; which having read, I shall in gratification of your pressing desire, send this answer. Your lordship knows best what obliged you to come to this place, or occasioned your so long stay in it, having notified neither to me; and you are mistaken if you think that I came or have stayed in reference to you or your case, or have taken pains to make or spread reports, as you are told I have done: for I declare I have not mentioned your name to the king nor spoke of you to any, before I received your letter, save to those who told me you had been with them, and spoken of me, and my way, in reference to the church and to you; and what I said was in just defence and vindication, against what you had most injuriously laid at my door. Your lordship has charged me with many things of which I am innocent, and




for which neither as a privy-councillor nor an archbishop, am I obliged to give an account. I have not made it my business to enquire into your persuasions in former or later years, nor into the meritorious actings or sufferings you value yourself so much upon, before the king's Restoration ; nor am I solicitous whom you mean, who, by letters under his hand, avoucheth that Presbytery is *juris divini*, or was thinking *de mutando solo* when the parliament was about to restore Episcopacy : for better men than either you or I have, without any criminous imputation, changed their sentiments about the form of government and public administrations which they have owned by the press and the sword. I do not think, neither have I said to any, that you are ' turned fanatic because become a bishop ; ' but I think there may be a schismatical and unpeaceable bishop in the church, and have more than once admonished you to take heed of that divisive temper, and giving way to that dictating and assuming humour, by which you have been observed to scandalize your superiors and brethren, both before you was a bishop and since ; and shall moreover fairly tell your lordship, that since your coming to England, I have heard that some, who think you had no small hand in that persecution, have declared that you contributed for promoting the fanatic interest, and have not spared to slander some of your own order, in their absence, which I believe is not unknown to you. I had little opportunity to converse with you in my whole life. I remember when I did you some good offices, but cannot say I had the opportunity to speak with you above twice or thrice, and then overly ; and several years before you were made a bishop and since, I have said nothing but what I said to yourself upon divers occasions, before some bishops and others of the clergy, who have testified I did *not* require you to be gone out of my house at St. Andrews ; and after, at Edinburgh, when you was at my lodging, you did meet with no uncivil usage from



me. So that when some told me you made that your excuse, for not paying ordinary civilities to me since you came hither, I said I was not to challenge that strangeness which was noticed by others. It was a strange allegation of your lordship, and you are the first clergyman of any degree, whom I ever heard complain of my uncivil usage of any of them. And it is no less strange, that you allege my continuance to oppress you, for endeavouring to shut up against 'you all avenues for redress,' as you phrase it, without any evidence or proof; but that you will set me up as the object of your blustering against, on a pretence to the errand, you know best, you came and stayed here for. I shall further add, that the scolding language and menacing warnings you are pleased to treat me with, by your letter, do not fret or discompose me, though you say they are not trifles which you have to bring against me. And as my own heart tells me, I harbour no malice, pique, or revenge against your lordship, which you so positively charge against me; so I believe I can justify, to all my brethren of our order, (whose judgment I shall not decline, as to all you can accuse me of,) or to any else who shall be appointed by competent authority, that whatever I have done or said against your lordship, did proceed from no other motive but from the sense of that duty I owe to the king, to the church, and to the office I bear, which in the judgment of my brethren you have violated. And although I might have expected more deference and regard from your lordship, than hitherto I have found: yet, if that the unavoidable circumstances you write that you are under, will not permit you to follow these methods which are consistent with the great veneration you say you have for my character, but that you must endeavour to dishonour the person who bears it, without transgressing the canons and practices of the church, by representing those foul things you say you have against me, I hope God will arm me with patience under this injustice, and

also from your own hand, wipe off that dirt that shall be thrown upon my integrity, which I will own against all the methods of expressing that bitter and causeless enmity and spite, you have not stuck to confess against me in Scotland and since you came hither. You know I have not been a stranger in the lot of being attempted by the barkings of the malicious defamations and the printed libels of the adversaries to that order, for which I may say, without vanity, I have suffered and done more and longer, than your lordship can pretend to, or those who malign me. And now, if you should follow that trade as you have begun, others may think, *quamvis ego dignus essem hac contumelia indignus tamen tu qui faceres*. And since you are pleased under your hand, to give me warning that you will represent foul things against me, and which you will publish, yet do not mention the particular crimes, but leave it to my choice whether to make it public or to hold it quiet, which is upon the matter to take with the guilt of whatever malice shall suggest or allege against me : this I confess you may declare upon your honesty is a generous offer from a true son of the church, a zealous lover of order and due subordination, to be made to one to whom you swore canonical obedience, and do now sign yourself ever to be a most faithful servant, but on the honourable terms of his lying for ever at your mercy for his reputation. I will not return you the compliment, nor use that candour you have used to me, by giving me warning of all these hideous things you have to boast (threaten) me with ; but tell you I live under the protection of a just prince, and the laws, which take notice of public libellers ; and I do rejoice in the testimony of my conscience which charges me with nothing in my administrations, for which I have cause to be ashamed before men. And when you consider the hazard of owning yourself as the author of these foul aspersions you warn me to expect, and shall return to a more sober and sedate recollection of mind, and of your



duty, you shall find, through God's grace, that my carriage shall be such as becomes the duty of my station, which forbids my entertaining malice, pique, or revenge against any, and enjoins charity, compassion, and long-suffering towards all, especially towards those who labour under the infirmities of impotent rage and exasperation of spirit. In this sense

" I am your lordship's very humble servant,

" St. Andrews."

" P.S.—I have obeyed the intimation by your postscript, with this caveat, that your lordship henceforth forbear troubling yourself with addresses by letters to me, for I will not further notice them with returns."*

Bishop Ramsay seems to have been irritated by the unconstitutional exertion of the Assertory Act; and to have, from morbid sensibility, supposed the primate to have been the author of his disgrace. This does not appear to have been the case; but the primate's reply seems to have added to his discontent, rather than to have allayed it. They both returned to Scotland in the course of the summer. " Archbishop Sharp having done all the service he could for the church, took leave of the king and the court; and this was the last time he had the honour to kiss his majesty's hands: and returning to Scotland in August 1675, he studied to bring affairs to unity and accommodation, and faithfully discharged the functions of his sacred office."†

* MSS. Ep. Chest. Aberdeen, A. 12.

† True and Impartial Account, p 69.

The king granted a commission to the two archbishops and the rest of the bishops, to make enquiry into the case and conduct of the Bishop of Dumblane. The court met in September; and after reading his majesty's commission, the following interrogatories were put to Bishop Ramsay :—

“ 1. Whether the said Bishop of Dumblane did obtain leave, either of the king's majesty, or of his metropolitan, to repair to court in April last ?


“ 2. Whether the said Bishop of Dumblane did abet or assist the motion and petition for a national synod, without consent of his superior, and the bishops of this church ?”

Bishop Ramsay withdrew, and returned written answers to these interrogatories on the 4th September. He complained of not having received a formal libel or indictment, and of being proceeded against by way of inquisition. To the first he ingenuously acknowledged, that he had not obtained the sanction of either the king or his metropolitan for repairing to court. He thought it reasonable to appeal to his majesty, because he found, that he had been secretly misrepresented to him, and in consequence he had been deprived of his bishopric. That his majesty had admitted him to his presence, and that he had endeavoured to clear himself from the offences charged against him. Previous to his visit to court, he alleged, that he had never been

a day's journey from his own residence. And yet, the bishops have been accused by the Presbyterians of the most enormous crimes ; but especially a constant instigation of the council to persecuting measures ; as if they had been constantly sitting in council ! Whereas, it appears, they were obliged to constant residence within their dioceses. He gives the following reasons for not asking his metropolitan's permission :—" 1. Because his lordship had not been in this kingdom for nearly nine months before I took journey ; but was at court, whither I was to go. 2. Because I was by the aforesaid sentence, inhibited the exercise of my function eight months before my journey, and so not tied to that residence, which I suppose brings a bishop under the canonical obligation, to ask his metropolitan's leave to go from his charge. And 3. to deal plainly, I wanted not ground to believe, that he who had injured me by that secret, and, I hope groundless account sent to court concerning me, was so nearly related to my metropolitan, that I could promise myself little success, though I had sought his grace's permission to go, and counteract it before his majesty. However, if in this I neglected any part of my duty, I beg his majesty's pardon, and do promise, that if his majesty shall be graciously pleased to restore me to the free exercise of my calling, I shall be as careful to

reside at my charge, and not go abroad without permission, as any bishop in this church. And as this was none of the causes of my sentence, (which was some months after it was inflicted,) so I hope it will be no ground to continue it longer."

In answer to the second interrogatory, he denied entirely, that he either abetted or assisted the petitioners for a national synod. He frankly acknowledged, however, that he considered a national synod to be necessary for "settling a church which wanted an established rule of faith, worship, and discipline,"—in which "there was not so much as a catechism appointed, nor a rule by which to try the faith and correct the manners of my diocese." Since parliament had passed an act, not only authorising a national synod, but saying "it was necessary and fit, for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the church, and the better government thereof in unity and order;" he never doubted, that he might say as the act says; that a national synod was necessary. Besides, the king appointed the Earl of Rothes first, and afterwards the Duke of Lauderdale, as his commissioner to such national synod. Likewise, soon after the act passed, the king granted his warrant and command to the bishops, and some others of the clergy, to meet and prepare a Liturgy, canons,



&c. Before the expiration of the last commission to Lauderdale, some Presbyters in the diocese of Edinburgh, announced publicly in their own synod, that they desired to see a national synod. Notwithstanding, there was no national synod held, and wherever the obstacle lay, it was not with the king, who manifested his princely inclinations and pious zeal to promote it. There were some other queries put to Bishop Ramsay, which he answered in general terms ; and denying any intention to break the peace and unity of the church. He eventually submitted, and dropt his views of a national convocation, and was restored to the full and free exercise of his Episcopal office. The four Presbyters who were removed by the power of the Assertory Act from their several charges were restored, after signing a submission and apology.*

It is much to be feared, that the statesmen of that period considered the church too much in the light of a state-engine. The Act Assertory, gave them a power which almost annihilated the church's independence ; and of which the bishops and clergy complained. Among the papers in the Episcopal chest there is a memorial complaining of that Act, by which the king was impowered to turn out and replace bishops at pleasure, " AS

* Wodrow.

A GRIEVOUS SERVITUDE." It states also, that the bishops and clergy were only waiting for a favourable conjuncture of circumstances, to move and persuade the king either to repeal or explain the said act, so that no bishop or presbyter should be removed or turned out without a fair, open, and legal trial by Ecclesiastical judges and judicatories.* A test was demanded of the Episcopal clergy, which required them to maintain all the king's privileges granted by the Act Assertory. This was intended as a snare to entrap them into an acknowledgment of this unchristian Act, which exalted the king's supremacy over the church to an unlimited extent. They saw through the design of the court, and had the Christian courage to refuse the test ; on which account some of them were deprived. But the clergy persisted and resolved to suffer the last extremities, rather than betray the just rights of Christ's church. They rode out the storm and quietly prevailed. Charles, seeing the clergy resolute and willing by suffering to assert their rights, and feeling the odium of such a flagrant usurpation of the church's inherent rights, withdrew his claim. A declaration was therefore published by the king and privy council, wherein all pretences to the intrinsical power of the

* MSS. Ep. Chest. B. 17.

church was renounced, "and he left entirely to the church all the Ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction exercised by the church for the three first centuries, which being the whole that could be asked, the breach was made up, and the deprived clergy were restored. And by this all the Erastian teeth of that Assertory Act were drawn out."*

1676. In the commencement of this year, several of the Episcopal clergy in the western counties were attacked, their houses plundered, and themselves and wives cruelly beaten by the Covenanters. The indulged ministers could not be kept within the rules prescribed to them by their letters of indulgence, and a new proclamation was found to be necessary. Their insubordination set the example, and encouraged the ignorant people to disorderly conduct. Yet the precautions of government to keep both ministers and people quiet, and within the prescribed rules, is represented as the most wanton cruelty and persecution. The king wrote to the privy council to restore the Bishop of Dumblane and the four clergymen, which the council did in conformity. The royal letter is dated the 2d of January, and says:—"That by a letter from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, he finds that the Bishop of Dum-

* Case of the Regale, pp. 233, 234.

blane, now translated to the isles, presented an address to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the other bishops with him, containing a declaration of his former carriage, and an engagement for his future deportment, that he shall live in all becoming duty and faithfulness to his metropolitan and brethren ; and that they have made their humble supplication to his majesty, for extending his clemency to him, and recalling the former order for his translation to the bishopric of the isles." The king declared himself satisfied with this submission, and his readiness to grant the prayer of their petition. He therefore commanded the privy council to remove the restraint from the bishop, and on account of the dutiful address of the four clergymen, he ordered their restraint likewise to be removed, and themselves to be restored to their charges.

One Carstairs, trepanned Kirkton the historian into a suspicious place, and made him prisoner ; but Bailie of Jerviswood, and some others, rescued him. This affair made a great noise ; and the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Kincardine spoke in council in Kirkton's favour. Carstairs produced his warrant ; which was alleged to have been antedated. This allegation, is made on the authority of Burnet, to heap odium on the primate ; although it does not appear that he was present in the council. The duke, and the

Earl of Kincardine, and some others, were, in consequence of their opposition at the council-board, immediately removed from the rank of privy counsellors. Lauderdale came down from court, and brought with him a further indulgence from the king. He wrote to Archbishop Sharp on the 21st of March, conveying to him a promise made by the king, that he would not sign a presentation to any see in Scotland, without previously consulting the archbishops. The king likewise promised to prefer such only as should be recommended by the two archbishops, within their respective provinces.* The indulgence was very strongly opposed by the bishops, as tending to widen and continue a causeless schism. Their sentiments on this head may be better understood from the following "representation of the evils of ane farther indulgence;" dated, 10th of February, 1676, and which was written by Archbishop Patterson, then Bishop of Gallo-way:

"By ane general indulgence or farther enlargement thereof, ane wider and more dangerous breach and schism will be stated in this church, in allowing such persons to exercise their ministry in ane independent and not accountable manner, than which no engine can be of more force to subvert religion, and which will in a short time either wear out the present

* MSS. Ep. Chest. A. 12.

establishment of the church, or once more involve the nation in trouble and confusion, through the unwearied endeavours of the so indulged, to obtain their beloved ends of overturning Episcopacy the more effectually, and to level monarchy under the feet of Presbytery. For, 1st. Most of the ministers already indulged, are leavened with the disloyal principles of the western Remonstrance, which are no less pernicious to the crown and to monarchy itself, than those of the Fifth-monarchists be. 2d. All of them judge themselves most strictly obliged, under the sacred ties of their Covenant, and by necessary consequence as strictly bound to justify the late rebellion, to assert the lawfulness of popular reformation and of defensive arms against the sovereign power of the king, and to endeavour by all means the destruction of the order of bishops; and to bring to condign punishment all of the nobility, gentry, or commons, as the greatest malignants, who either voted for its restitution, or since have owned and countenanced it, and think they are now to be valued as good and loyal subjects, only because they did not rise and join in arms to destroy those who are zealous for the service and interest of the crown and church, as the law hath now settled them. 3d. All of them discover a singular and noted disaffection to the king's majesty and his government, so that they cannot be moved to observe the anniversary 29th of May, therein to pay solemn thanks to God for his majesty's happy restoration, who, as formerly, is still considered by them as the head and life of the malignant party, and accordingly to be treated, whenever they shall become masters of power and opportunity. 4th. They conceive themselves bound to instruct the people and confirm them in the belief of all their old disloyal tenets and opinions, and accordingly their hearers can witness the seditious expressions and insinuations they use in their sermons and prayers, by which, not only the present, but the following generation is in hazard to be debauched and cor-

rupted, and to receive such disloyal and mutinous prepossession, as may in the issue lead remedilessly to reacting of our late fatal hazards. 5th. Those already indulged do not at all observe the rules prescribed unto them for keeping them within due and moderate bounds, and do as resolutely contemn the measures prescribed by the king and his council, as if they were the impositions of the bishops, looking upon the former as an equal, if not greater encroachment and invasion made upon the rights of the crown and kingdom of Christ as the latter, and this appears sufficiently in their assuming the boldness to assemble in [classical meetings, wherein, if nothing be advised as to discipline, yet, thereby they have opportunity to stiffen and encourage one another in their opposition to the king's authority, and to determine by suffrages not to observe the most innocent and necessary constitutions thereof, and to consult of the most *conducive* means for establishing their idol, Presbytery, for overturning Episcopacy, and for enervating the king's authority and force of the laws ; therein, also, they proceed to take trials of persons whom they licentiate to preach, giving them testimonies and missions for that work, and if themselves do not ordain them, they send them to Ireland to receive ordination ; by which as they assume to themselves an immunity and exemption from the orders and laws of the king and council, as well as from those of the church, so they design to perpetuate the schism and continue a succession of such turbulent preachers as may corrupt the religion and loyalty of the nation.

“ For enlarging the Indulgence, it may be speciously enough pretended that it would prove a very excellent expedient to preserve and secure the peace, by composing the spirits of the people to a dutiful submission to his majesty's government, and to relieve the kingdom of conventicles. But these ends are so far from being to be compassed thereby, that none with any reason can think they are seriously intended ; for

those already indulged endeavour nothing so much as to harden the disobedient in their disaffection to the laws and established government, who, so by the constant strain of sedition which runs along their sermons, they cannot but dispose the people, as tinder, to be blown up into flames and commotions, by any who will assume the boldness to put arms into their hands, and conduct them : and as for their influence to secure the peace, and to rid the nation of conventicles, the serious observers of the state of the kingdom, upon a narrow inspection, will find, that since the date of the indulgence already granted, and the general connivance at the humour and ways of the disaffected, the awe of authority, and regard to acts of parliament, and proclamations of council, are much worn out ; and the perverseness and distemper of that party hath increased to a greater height of impudence and audacious contempt of the laws, and of authority ; for they are so far from relieving the nation of conventicles, that as themselves are stated in a formal and direct opposition to the church, so they make it their great business to draw and contain the populace to, and in their separation from the received worship, and all manner of conventicles both in fields and houses, have never so much abounded nor infested the nation, as since the date of that favour granted to them ; nay, how much those indulged preachers contribute for inflaming the humour for conventicling, is enough apparent in this, that several of them have kept and preached at conventicles themselves, as is notour (notorious,) from the practice of the most leading men amongst them, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, some whereof have been actually seized preaching in those conventicles. Again,

“ If the indulgence shall be enlarged, it is to be feared that thereby a disaffected party shall be increased and strengthened within the kingdom, which will ever be ready to join

with any discontented faction, and disturb its peace ; and so the king and his authority shall still be exposed to the mercy of any malcontented faction, who shall have the policy, by fair pretences and insinuations, to cajole that party (easy enough to be persuaded to any design of trouble,) to side and join issue with them ; and, indeed, without hopes of assistance from it, no faction, of whatever interest or quality, will adventure to make the smallest opposition to the king, or his authority in this kingdom ; so that to extend and enlarge the indulgence, seems a proper expedient to advance a seed and nursery of trouble, without which no seditious design or attempt can ever prosper, so as to become formidable to the king or nation. Nor can it be reasonably presumed, that any favour, condescendance, or further indulgence will ever gain that implacable party to be true and cordial friends to the king or church, since they believe they owe favours and indulgences merely to Providence, and to the necessities of the prince, who, they think, cannot otherways rid himself of their trouble, and do offer sacrifice to their own turbulent temper and actings, for any kindness or favour they enjoy ; and so by just consequence, the more they are connived at or gratified, the more turbulent and humoursome will they prove ; since by their seditious temper and turbulent actings, they find they may fairly cut out a way for themselves to have more ample favours and indulgences heaped upon them. King James VI. by his reason, and King Charles I. by his dear-bought experience, learned that none of these fanatically disaffected could ever be won or obliged, by all the effects of the princely munificence and favour ; nor hath any thing yet appeared in the temper and ways of those lately indulged by the present king, which can give his majesty solid ground to believe, that they are of better natures, or of more ingenuous principles, or of truer affection and loyalty to his sacred person, his royal family, or government ; their predecessors

and themselves are sufficient proof, that nothing can satisfy their importunity and encroachments, unless they can grasp and become masters of all power and interest.

“ Now if to preserve, encourage, and increase such troublesome seminaries and dangerous nurseries be agreeable to the interest, peace, and security of the nation, seems no difficult determination ; nor if it be safe to encourage and increase a company of preachers in the kingdom, whose business is to bring the law into disregard, and the present government into contempt, and so justify and abet the former fatal principles, and withal to inculcate them on the present, and transmit them to the next generation.

“ It would seem beyond probability, if a more effectual course be not followed for extirpating the seditious principles, and that evil spirit of disaffection and separation, than hath been done, it cannot be avoided, but in a short time, the gangrene will spread, and the distemper will grow to that height, which nothing can cure but extreme remedies ; so that in the end not only shall the ends of religion be subverted, without which no society can long subsist, but the crown shall be deprived, by this subtle artifice, of the great usefulness and assistance of the order of bishops, whose conscience, as well as interest, oblige them to an absolute dependence upon, and so to the most faithful and sincere service and support of it.

“ These arguments and reasons against enlarging this indulgence are obvious enough, such as there appears no profit by, so no necessity thereof, in regard that no seeming scruple can reasonably be entertained by the disaffected, for their obstinate separation from the worship practised in this church, *it being notourly the same, without variation, as it was under Presbytery*, and it deserves remark, that most of them who now separate, did formerly join into the church, so that there seems to be no *real scruple* in the case, but *faction and a*

laid design, to advance the same ; and as there appears no necessity of any further indulgence, so indeed it can be of no use for serving the ends pretended, since the great and leading demagogues are of such perverse humours and principles, that they will not accept of any such indulgence from the king, being persons who declaim and write against such who have embraced their ministry by his majesty's indulgence, as deserters and betrayers of the cause and crown of Christ ; now that these are the persons who are the most obstinate and seditious conventiclers and disturbers of the peace, who were actually upon the late rebellion, and are still ready to stir up the people to a new one, is abundantly notour, and such as will ever attempt to set up not only *ecclesiam in ecclesia*, but also *imperium in imperio*, so long as the present constitution of church and state is continued, the influence, the method for enlarging, the indulgence will have for advancing of Popery and other errors, deserves its due consideration ; nor needs it be added, that to such as may be ready, the king may extend farther indulgence to the disaffected people, and to the non-conform ministers, contrary to the standing legal establishment of the church, may, if occasion offer, be found as ready to complain of uncertain, arbitrary, and illegal proceedings, even in that matter, as well as in other things, which they fancy may be contrary to the standing established laws of the kingdom ; and in fine, nothing seems to prove so effectual a mean for his majesty's government, and the peace of the kingdom, as a steady and even, resolute and vigorous execution of the good and wholesome laws thereof." *

From the connivance of the leading men in the council, conventicles abounded more audaciously than ever ; and the council enacted more laws to

* MSS. Ep. Chest, B. 8.

suppress them. A proclamation extended the former one to all the counties in the kingdom, which before only comprehended the shires of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, for the suppression of conventicles. Heritors were subjected to fines, in case any conventicle was kept on their grounds or in any house belonging to them. The Duke of Hamilton went to London, and made severe complaints to the king against the Duke of Lauderdale and his brother, Lord Hatton. There is a letter in the Episcopal chest, from the Duchess of Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, dated 1st of October, in which she informs the archbishop that her husband's interest at court was as good as ever; and that the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Kincardine had entirely failed in their attempt to prejudice the king against Lauderdale.*

1677. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Kincardine, Dundonald, and some others, had openly defended the Covenanters in the privy council, in their illegal field-meetings; and in particular had favoured Kirkton. It is likewise to be feared that, for factious motives, they had given the Covenanters secret encouragement. In consequence, these noblemen were removed from his majesty's privy council, and Hamilton

* MSS. Ep. Chest, A. 38.

was stripped of his commissions. The Duke of Lauderdale came down in the beginning of this year, accompanied by his duchess, who had views of uniting her daughters by a former husband to members of the families of Argyle and Moray. As those families were known to favour the Presbyterians, Lauderdale found it prudent to relax the laws against conventicles for a time, and to bring down a further indulgence from the king. He likewise consented to these noblemen's negotiating with the moderate Presbyterians; but their demands were found to be so insolent that he was compelled to desert the treaty. At the same time the fanatics were led, by the arts of designing men, to expect great favours from Lauderdale; but finding their hopes disappointed, they resolved to take by force what they could not obtain by favour.* The great leaders among the Covenanters, Robert Hamilton and Richard Cameron, with some others, entered into a combination to separate from the indulged ministers. These created a schism, which existed with great virulence among the Presbyterians themselves, before the Revolution. At that eventful epoch it was temporarily soldered up, to serve political purposes, but broke out again three years after that era, and has not been healed to this day; and the

* Memoirs, pp. 321, 322.

prospect of union among that party seems farther distant than ever. The indulged ministers in the western counties commissioned one Mathew Crawford to go to Edinburgh and consult with John Carstairs, with whose concurrence, and that of some ministers in Edinburgh, he employed Anthony Murray, a relation of the Duchess of Lauderdale, to wait on the duke, and to solicit him to remove the letters of intercommuning, and to release the state-prisoners in the Bass. The duke assured him of his readiness to do himself any service, "but he would grant no favour to that party, being (as he was pleased to say) unworthy of any." From this answer, the ministers concluded that the duke was not in reality so friendly to their cause as they had been led to suppose. However, the duke began to speak openly of granting a third indulgence, and signified his design to several Presbyterian ministers, through the medium of Lord Melville; but when the two archbishops represented the impolicy of this step to his grace, he is reported to have said, "that he intended no liberty to the Presbyterians at all; but it was convenient to keep them in hopes, till he got forces raised to suppress them, and keep them in order."*

"The fanatics," says the author of the Me-

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 349. Cruikshanks, vol. i. p. 408.

moirs, “ knowing that they might expect the connivance at least of the party in opposition to Lauderdale, (Hamilton and others,) and the party having blown up their expectations, by assuring them that the parliament of England was by many late elections become more fanatical, they hounded out all their preachers to keep field-conventicles, in such numbers, and *so well armed*, and to *threaten* so all the orthodox clergy, and to *usurp their pulpits*, that the council was much troubled at the clouds which they saw so fast gathering ; and Lauderdale was the more envenomed, that all these disorders were charged upon the late offers made by him of an indemnity and indulgence, and the news that were industriously spread, both at London and Edinburgh, of great sums of money promised to his duchess by the fanatics. Notwithstanding all which Sir George Mackenzie, being lately admitted to be his majesty’s advocate, did prevail with the council to prevent, by the ensuing articles, all the fanatics’ just exceptions against the forms formerly used against them.

“ It is thought fit and necessary for his majesty’s service, that the laws against such disorderly persons be exactly but regularly put in execution in manner after-mentioned.

“ 1. That his majesty’s advocate be special as to time and place, in libelling (indicting) against

conventiclors and others pursued ; but so as he may libel any day within four weeks, or any place within such a parish, or near to the said parish, for else conventicles may be kept upon confines of parishes, merely to disappoint his way of libelling.

“ 2. When any person is convened upon a libel, that in that case he be only examined upon his own guilt and accession, seeing nothing can be referred to a defender's oath, but what concerneth himself during the defence of a process.

“ 3. That if any person who is cited be ready to depone, or to pay his fine, he be not troubled with taking of bonds, or other engagements ; seeing the constant punishment of such as do transgress will supply the necessity of the bonds, and the law itself is the strongest bond that can be exacted of any man.” *

The late show of an indulgence had emboldened the Covenanters to assemble more openly and in greater multitudes than formerly at field-conventicles, where they were guilty of some provoking acts of insubordination ; and had even concerted the means of repelling force by force, should they be interrupted by the king's troops. As these field-conventicles were illegal, orders of council were issued, requiring the heritors to keep the

* Memoirs, pp. 322, 323.

peace. Field-conventicles became now more numerous and daring throughout the five associated shires than formerly. At these meetings many thousands have been known to meet, and the men always went well armed ; for which reason the laws proclaimed these meetings to be “ rendezvouses of rebellion.” Many of the ministers, but especially Welsh and Arnot, were attainted traitors, and were actively engaged in the rebellion dissipated at Rullion-green. At a conventicle in the mountainous parts of Ayrshire, Welsh, addressing the multitude, said “ that he was confident that God would yet assert the cause of Pentland hills,” (that is, of rebellion,) “ in spite of the curates and their masters the prelates ; and in spite of the prelates and their master the king ; and in spite of the king and his master the *devil*.” This is a specimen of the spirit by which these men were actuated, and by which they inflamed their hearers with hatred of the church and of their civil rulers. A spirit, alas ! evidently proceeding from the devil, who certainly presided at these meetings. On these occasions the preachers administered the Solemn League and Covenant to the people—made them swear never to hear a curate, that is an Episcopal clergyman, preach—and after the popish manner gave them the sacrament, to bind this illegal oath on their souls.

These Covenanting ministers also held classical meetings, where they ordained other apostles of the Covenant. They likewise received the confessions and alleged repentance of those whom they had persuaded to acknowledge the heinous sin of worshiping in their parish-churches. They established lay-elders authoritatively in various places; and even had the assurance to induct their own fanatical preachers into churches, whether they were vacant or occupied. This they did upon the principle not yet exploded, that patronage is but a relic of popery. Welsh and Arnott rode through the country with guards, amounting to fifty, and sometimes as many as a hundred men, well armed and mounted. In this manner they attacked the houses of the Episcopal clergy, and abused their persons and families. Welsh publicly declared that it was as lawful to kill the Episcopal clergy as it was for the Israelites to kill the Canaanites. These violent and repeated outrages so alarmed and distressed the established clergy, that some of the more timorous, apprehensive for their own and their families lives, resigned their charges. These barbarities exercised by the Covenanting ministers and their followers in the west of Scotland, were the *cause* of the severities to which, in self-defence, the government was driven. The privy council, therefore, determined to execute the laws against


these conventicles. They issued proclamations for the capture of Welsh and Arnot, and some other seditious preachers; but the sheriffs in the seditious districts refused to act. In suppressing these field-meetings they were not only preserving the king's peace, but acting in conformity with an act of a Presbyterian General Assembly. It was the Act of Assembly, 1647, and no Presbyterian will deny the authority of that assembly, intituled, "Act against such as *withdraw* themselves from the public worship *in their own congregation*." It expressly prohibits all the members of their kirk from leaving their own congregations, except in urgent cases, made known to and approved by the Presbytery. And if any contravened this act, the minister to whom such persons resorted was recommended to advise them to remain in their own parish; but if still disobedient, the minister and session of their own parish were commanded to cite the wanderers before the Presbytery, &c. But separation and schism had now become epidemical, and many went to these field-meetings out of curiosity and over-persuasion of neighbours. The sober part of the community, however, became disgusted with the mixture of sedition and blasphemy, which they heard from the itinerant preachers, and returned quietly to their parish-churches.

As the sheriffs had refused to seize the persons

of Welsh, Arnott, and other seditious preachers, and they were so well guarded by their armed retainers in public, and in private were sheltered by some of the more fanatical of the party, the government resolved to employ military force in support of the law. The proclamations of the privy council were rendered ineffectual by the means just named. The disorders increasing with impunity, the council laid a state of affairs before his majesty, requesting him to order his troops in Ireland to move towards the maritime frontier of Scotland. These lying opposite Galloway and Ayrshire, could soon be transported, should their services be required. Accordingly the king ordered three thousand men, under the command of the Viscount Granard, to be quartered in the north of Ireland, to be ready to cross the channel at the command of the Scottish privy council. The fanatics were not a little surprised and alarmed at this movement; as they had been led to believe that Lauderdale's interest was entirely gone at court. After this demonstration, to show the fanatics their danger, the council still endeavoured to suppress them without the aid of the military. Letters therefore were directed to the heritors, or landed proprietors, in the disaffected counties, to enquire whether they would undertake to reduce the disorderly on their estates with their own power, backed by the king's au-

thority. At that time the proprietors of the soil had a patriarchal power and authority over their tenants and vassals, and could easily have complied with the request of the privy council. Indeed without their connivance not one of these meetings could have taken place. None did take place where the owners of the soil were well affected. In consequence of the mistaken policy in 1662, of banishing the ministers who deserted their charges to Morayshire, they had infected many in that county with their schismatical sentiments; but the Earl of Moray, by his feudal authority, completely preserved the peace of that county, and did not allow a single conventicle to meet in it. The same powers were vested in the gentry in the west, and in addition they would have had the assistance of government to strengthen their hands; but there were great men who secretly encouraged them to wink at the disorders on their lands. The heritors in the counties of Ayr and Renfrew met in their different counties, and after two days' consultation, returned an answer to the council, "that they could not undertake by their own power to keep their counties free from conventicles, or any disorders that might ensue thereupon."


This answer was considered unreasonable, because the western counties had enjoyed more liberty than any other part of the kingdom, by



having the laws dispensed with in their favour, and had Presbyterian ministers settled in their parishes. Therefore the field-conventicles were unnecessary, to say the least, while there were settled Presbyterian ministers to resort to. But it is to be feared that there was more meant than always met the eye or the ear, at these conventicles. Materials were there preparing which burst out at Bothwell-bridge, and were consummated in the Revolution. The council now thought the time had arrived when it became necessary to resort to force. Still they desired rather to reduce the west by native forces than to call in the assistance of the Irish. To the king's standing forces, which consisted of about fifteen hundred men, they added the militia of the loyal county of Angus. The noblemen on the Highland borders were ordered to call out their vassals, and rendezvous at Stirling. The whole of these were united under the command of the Earl of Linlithgow, who marched into the western counties. According to the uncharitable system pursued by Wodrow and Kirkton, of misrepresentation, this act of the government is charged as an atrocious crime against the church—"a contrivance worthy of bishops." It was now charged upon the bishops, or rather on the primate, by the same author who, a short time before, gave the whole merit of this "contrivance"

to Lauderdale. Their malice against the Episcopal order makes the historians of that period fall into the most obvious inconsistencies and contradictions : in short, the most audacious falsehoods, and the mere suspicions of their diseased imaginations were recorded by these authors, and unhappily followed without reflection by others, for the sole purpose of maligning and misrepresenting the prelates of that day.

That the intentions of government might be carried into effect in a legal manner, a committee of the privy council was sent along with the army. This committee, consisting of eleven of the members, were invested with sufficient power, civil and criminal, to punish all sorts of offenders. They maintained a regular correspondence with the privy council, from whom they received instructions from time to time. The committee commenced with disarming all suspected persons, and planting garrisons in different places. They pulled down all the meeting-houses which had been built for the disaffected ministers. Wodrow gratuitously asserts that the primate was overjoyed at this turn in affairs ; but shows no other authority than his own malicious surmises. He further asserts that “ there was *no provocation* given by the Presbyterians, nor any occasion for this terrible instance of the prelate’s fury, in the unprecedented oppression, save the preaching



and the hearing of the gospel, *to which they wanted not altogether ENCOURAGEMENT from some who went in heartily in this inroad upon them*, and which they reckoned their civil as well as religious right.”* In this short sentence we have ample evidence that the Covenanters were instigated to their unlawful conduct by some of the great men of the day; and that these fanatics deserted the sober Presbyterian ministers, who were settled in parishes, for the purpose of provoking their rulers by a turbulence which no government could tolerate.


A complete set of instructions were prepared and signed by the whole privy council, except the archbishops, for the committee which directed the military.† It is somewhat surprising, that Wodrow admits that the two archbishops did *not*, though privy counsellors, sign these instructions. And yet, with that inconsistency which his malice frequently betrays, he accused them of contriving and advising the whole mystery and plot of the “Highland host.” However, we have here an unwilling evidence, that the archbishops and the bishops had no concern in this severe measure, which the seditious conduct of the covenanters rendered absolutely necessary. The committee were empowered to exact a bond from

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 378.

† Ibid. p. 387.

the heritors, wherein, as masters of families, they became bound for themselves, wives, children, and servants, and as landlords, for their tenants and cottagers, that they should not go to conventicles, nor receive, nor supply conventicle ministers, but live orderly, in obedience to the law. So that if their wives, or any of their children or servants transgressed, they became bound to suffer the legal penalties for them. In case their tenants or cottagers transgressed, they were bound to present them to justice, or to turn them off their lands or tenements, or else suffer the penalties which they incurred. Lest the force of this bond should be eluded, the privy council declared, that every landowner that should receive the tenants, or servants of any other proprietor into his lands or service, without a certificate from the latter or the minister of his parish, that they had conformed to the law in this particular, should be subject to such fines as the council should think fit to inflict, and repair the damage that shall accrue to the proprietor or master whose tenants or servants they received. All the lords of the council, the judges, advocates, and all connected with the law signed this bond; and the landed gentry everywhere, except in the five disaffected shires, signed it readily.

“Such was the state of affairs in Scotland from the Restoration,” says an anonymous



author, "that never any nation nor people had a more merciful and mild king, who loved nothing more than the ease and happiness of all mankind, but more particularly of his own subjects. But on the contrary, let us look over all history, yea, romance and fable too, there is not to be found such a mutinous and factious race, and addicted to such tumultuary and seditious practices against all society and government, as some of the subjects were during that reign. All the acts of grace, favour, and indulgence had no effect on them, or could make them capable of the protection of laws, such poisonable principles and practices were rooted in them. Now and then, law took place against some of the most notorious offenders among them, but where one suffered an hundred were winked at. But this, instead of curbing and restraining, heightened and increased the malice and rage of the rest, particularly from 1675 to 1679, insomuch that the furiosos of the party laid aside all respect for the laws of God and nature, and of those of the land, so that murdering of common soldiers, barbarous invasions upon the persons and families of the ministers of God, and affronting every thing that was in the least subservient to authority, were familiar to them, and become their common practice. It was only want of opportunity and power that preserved the sacred persons of the

bishops, nay, and of the king himself too, (whom they had excommunicated, and designed the devil's vicegerent,) from being assassinated by their bloody hands. Of all these fathers of the church, their prejudice and rage was mainly levelled against Archbishop Sharp. They knew him to be an Atlas for his order, and no less useful in the state. They thought, if they could once destroy him, they should shake the very fabric and unity of the government itself. These fears and threatenings little troubled that great and good man and the rest of his order, while they were conscious to themselves they were acting nothing without their sphere; and if these threatenings had any effect upon them, it was to strengthen and confirm them in the practice of their Christian virtues and habits, which prepared them for all events." *

Such it appears was the temper of the times; and marching an army into the disaffected districts, was rendered necessary by the seditious principles preached by the Covenanting ministers. Another anonymous writer of that period, speaking of the Highland Host, says:—"All this hath been done under the wise conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale, to whose presence among us, next under God, this poor church and

* True and Impartial Account, pp. 70, 71.

religion are redeemable, that they have been preserved from confusion and blood. And I question not, but his vigorous endeavours to suppress this schism (the like whereof in all respects was never yet heard of in any age or nation) have, by this time, effectually confuted all the lying reports that were sent into England by our men of schism and faction, with a design to render him odious in our neighbour country, and discredit his administration here." *

Henry Guthrie, Bishop of Dunkeld, died this year, and was succeeded by William Lindsay, minister at Perth. Bishop Lindsay was the son of James Lindsay of Dovehill; and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld on the 7th of May, 1677.† In February Bishop Mackenzie was translated from the see of Moray to that of Orkney, vacant by the death, the preceding year, of Bishop Honeyman, who never recovered the wound which he received from the assassin Mitchel, when attempting the life of the primate. The levity with which Presbyterian writers speak of the attempt to assassinate the archbishop is very disgusting, and gives reason to imagine that they only regret his ill success. "Sir James Stuart talks of Honeyman 'as *captious* from his green

* Fanatical Moderation, &c. pp. 42, 43.

† Keith's Catalogue, p. 99.

wound, which he got per *accidens* because of *ill company!*” Bishop Honeyman “died in February 1676, with great peace and composure, contrary to what has been asserted by some pamphlet-writers, as can be attested by several gentlemen who were witnesses to his death. He was buried in the cathedral church at Kirkwall.”* His successor, Murdoch Mackenzie, formerly the Bishop of Moray, died in the year 1688, at the extraordinary age of one hundred years, and yet enjoyed the perfect use of all his faculties till the very last.

James Aitken, son of Henry Aitken, sheriff and commissary of Orkney, was consecrated Bishop of Moray at the translation of Mackenzie. He was born in Kirkwall, received part of his education at Edinburgh, and studied at Oxford. He was chaplain to the Duke of Hamilton, when he was royal commissioner to the General Assembly of 1638 ; in which station he, conducted himself with so much prudence, that the duke procured from the king a presentation to the church of Birsá, in Orkney, where he was much respected and esteemed. When the great Montrose landed in Orkney, in 1650, Mr. Aitken was chosen by his brethren to draw up a declaration of their loyalty and firm resolution to

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 99.

adhere constantly to their dutiful allegiance. For this act of loyalty, and the crime of having conversed with the Marquis of Montrose, the whole presbytery were deposed, and Mr. Aitken excommunicated by the General Assembly ! The council granted a warrant to apprehend him ; but his relation, Sir Archibald Primrose, then clerk of council, sent him secret warning of his danger, and he fled to Holland. There he found refuge till the year 1653, when he returned to Edinburgh, and lived obscurely till the Restoration. At that auspicious event, he accompanied Bishop Sydserf to London, to congratulate the king on his return in peace. The Bishop of Winchester at that time presented him to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorsetshire, which he held till the year 1677, when he was elected by *congé d'elire*, and consecrated to the bishopric of Moray.* Robert Laurie, Bishop of Brechin, died this year. The revenue of this bishopric was very small ; and he was therefore permitted to retain the deanery of Edinburgh, and he continued to exercise a particular ministry at the church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh till his death. He was succeeded by George Halliburton, minister of Cupar-Angus, who was consecrated in the following year. † There is a letter from the Duke of

- * Keith, p. 154.

† Ibid.

Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, dated 2d of June, 1677, respecting the disputed right of presentation to a church in Aberdeenshire. He also acquaints the primate, that he had procured a royal dispensation in favour of Andrew Wood, Bishop of the Isles, to retain his former living at Dunbar.*

* MSS. Epis. Chest, No. A. 39. It is also mentioned by Keith, p. 310.

CHAPTER VIII.

1678. James Mitchel—his arrest—Threatening letter to the Primate—Mitchel's trial—Lord Advocate's address to the Court—Interlocutor—Mitchel's confession—Depositions of witnesses — Defence—Argument—Verdict—Reflections—Ravaillac Redivivus—Prison-hours—His written speech—Reflections—Threatening letters sent to the Primate—Mitchel's execution—Kingsland's Curates—Law-burrows—Duke of Hamilton repairs to London—Highland Host disbanded—Convention of Estates—Cess—Mrs. Smyth of Methven. 1679—Primate's letter to Mrs. Smyth—Bishop of Galloway—Translations—Assault on Major Johnston—Soldiers murdered—County address—King's letter—Opinions of his adversaries—Murderers' names—Preliminary proceedings — Balfour of Burley — Anonymous papers dropped—Transactions of the assassins—their delusion—Russell's revelation—Letter to Sir W. Sharp—Primate crossed the Forth—slept at Kennoway—His deportment—first alarm—the attack—cut in the wrist—his death—Miss Sharp—Robbery—Cargill's letter—Privy Council's letter to the King—Same to Lauderdale—King's letter to the Privy Council—Proclamation—Dr. Burns—Hind let Loose—Reflections—De Foe—Sir William Sharp's letter—Surgeon's *post mortem* report — Funeral procession—Personal appearance—Domestic habits—Character.

1678. THE principal events of this year were the trial and execution of Mitchel, the assassin.

This miserable man has obtained a greater notoriety than his crimes and fanaticism deserve; and I should not be so particular in recording his end had not the archbishop's character been so traduced on his account, by the Presbyterian party. The wailings of Wodrow show evidently that he would have rejoiced, had Mitchel's attempt been successful; and he vituperates the primate's memory, as if he had actually formed a conspiracy to take away his intended assassin's life. He insists, that because a promise of life was given by Lord Rothes, *conditionally*, to Mitchel, that therefore this promise should have been kept, even although Mitchel not only failed to perform the condition, but continued to watch for an opportunity to execute his murderous design against the life of the primate. He says, "after the people who had been concerned in the promise of his life were prepared to elide that defence, *at the primate's instigation*." This is a gratuitous piece of malice and false witness, for which he gives no authority, only it serves to inflame and maintain that popular hatred against the archbishop, which he himself has been the chief means of fomenting. If the reader will turn back to the year 1674, and peruse the minute of council which I copied from the manuscript books of council in the Register-office, it will be found that Mitchel forfeited the promise given him, at his

first examination. He then made a full confession that he fired a pistol with the intention of assassinating the archbishop, and likewise subscribed the confession in the presence of the privy council. When put to the bar of the court of justiciary, and being there asked if he adhered to his confession, he absolutely retracted it, and denied that he attempted the primate's murder, or that he had made such a confession. The court urged him to adhere, assuring him that he should have the benefit of the promise given him by one of the council. But he persisted in retracting his confession, and therefore the council withdrew their promise, and declared the same to be altogether void. There is, therefore, no justice in maintaining that Mitchel should enjoy the benefit of an indemnity, the conditions of which he did not fulfil; and, on the other hand, the council to be held bound, while he himself still meditated the primate's murder. This alleged breach of promise must therefore be entirely set aside, as unworthy of notice, it being only used by his enemies as a convenient subject of clamour against the archbishop. Sir John Nisbet, then lord advocate, immediately withdrew the prosecution, and moved the court to adjourn, and would never proceed against him afterwards. He was committed to the state-prison of the Bass, where he continued till December of the preced-

ing year, when he was brought to Edinburgh for trial. "About this time, it was rumoured about town and country, that the Whigs, (for so we call the fanatics,) designed to *take off both the archbishops, and some other bishops, by assassination*; and likewise vehement suspicions and presumptions were formed, that they had the like design on other eminent persons, who were most concerned and resolved to see them reduced to order and obedience. And therefore the council thought it expedient to prevent such barbarous attempts, and secure the lives of his majesty's faithful ministers, to bring Mr. Mitchel to public justice, that the Remonstrator Presbyterians of our country might see what these Clements and Ravallacs were to expect." *

Before proceeding with the trial of this "*pious youth*," I will insert an extract from the "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland:"—"These irreligious and heterodox books, called '*Naphthali*' and '*Jus Populi*,' had made the killing of all dissenters from Presbytery seem not only lawful, but even duty amongst many of that profession; and in a postscript to '*Jus Populi*,' it was told, that the *sending the Archbishop of St. Andrews' head* to the king, would be the

* Fanatical Moderation; or, Unparalleled Villany displayed, &c., London, 1711, page 3.

best present that could be made to *Jesus Christ* ! Animated by which principles, one Master James Mitchel, a profligate fellow, who, for scandal and ill-nature, had been thrown out of the Laird of Dundas's house, where he served as chaplain, did, in July 1668, watch to kill that archbishop, till wearied with want of opportunities, he at last shot at him in his own coach, upon the public street, and at the foot of his stairs. But Providence so ordered it, that he missed him, but shot the Bishop of Orkney, who was in the coach with him, leaving the small leads in his arm, of which wound he languished till his death. Mitchel having in the crowd escapt, every man running to the archbishop, he lurkt that night in the garden that belonged to the Lord Oxenford, in the Cowgate ; and from thence, pursued by his own conscience, fled to Holland ; but was by divine Providence, which designed him for a sacrifice, instigated to come home, where, being taken at a burial, he denied the fact, albeit the pistol was taken about him ; and being brought to the council, in February 1674, he was referred to a committee ; but desiring to speak with the chancellor, and he having taken him into another room, he fell upon his knees, and confessed the whole matter, without asking either life or promise of any favour. When his lordship returned, Sir John Nisbet, who was then advocate,

and one of the committee, prest that he might sign his confession, which he did, and renewed his confession before the council, the Duke of Lauderdale, then commissioner, being present, without interceding for his life on either of these occasions ; whereupon the council, who were jealous that he might retract his confession, ordered him to be pursued criminally, having only designed to cut off his right hand, if he should adhere to his confession : but he being persuaded that extra-judicial confession was not binding, resiled ; whereupon the council declared, that he had *forfeited* any promise that was made to him ; and being sent prisoner to the Bass, he continued there till December 1677 ; at which time, *new discoveries* having been made of a *design to kill the archbishop*, Sir George Mackenzie, his majesty's advocate, was ordained to proceed against him, under a libel (indictment,) being given him, founded upon the 4 Act of 16 Parl. Ja. VI., whereby the invading privy councillors is death. Sir George Lockhart was, at my lord advocate's earnest desire, appointed to plead for him ; and he having raised an exculpation, in which he offered to prove that if he emitted any confession, it was upon promise of life *et spe veniæ*, (and hope of pardon,) this was admitted to his probation : and having led the Duke of Lauderdale, the chancellor, Hatton, and

some others, they all deponed, that they knew of no promise given antecedently to his confession, and so he could not be said to have confessed upon promise of life : after which, his advocates desiring that the Act of Council might be read, for proving their exculpation, that was justly refused, because no man can make use of both writ (writing) and witnesses ; and the truth was, that the Act of Council being *posterior* to the confession, could not prove that the confession was emitted upon promise of life ; and that act designed to annul the confession, and so could not be made use of for astructing it. Probation being thus led, and his majesty's advocate having spoken to the assize, Sir George Lockhart refused to speak for Mitchel, being unwilling to offend Lauderdale ; for which many blamed him in this, as they did his management of the process, in not adducing the Act of Council first ; and the assize having all in one voice found the pannel guilty, he was hanged, railing against the king and the council, without any contrition for his personal sins."*

Mitchel's trial was conducted with great deliberation, and he himself was allowed the best counsel at the bar. His trial lasted four days, and Sir George Lockhart was appointed to plead

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, pp. 326—329.

for him ; and Wodrow gives a long and powerful pleading for the prisoner, both by Lockhart, and also by Mr. Ellis. After his return from Holland, Mitchel had married, and they occupied a small shop at the foot of the common stair, where the archbishop resided when in town, who had often remarked Mitchel as a person whom he thought he had formerly seen, and was often alarmed at his menacing looks and gestures. Mitchel was constantly on the watch, whenever the archbishop entered or left his own door ; and at last, his extraordinary and menacing conduct created a suspicion that he was the man who had formerly attempted his life. He accordingly communicated his suspicions to the privy council, who gave orders for his apprehension, when a pistol, loaded with three balls, was found on his person. It would thus appear that he still meditated the primate's murder, and only waited for an opportunity. It was deposed on oath, that he said, when speaking of the attempt to several persons, " Shame fall the miss ; he should make the fire the hotter the next time : " and at another time, " Let me but shoot at him again, and I'll be content to be hanged if I miss." Dr. Burns quotes from Law's Memorials, that "when it was reported that he (Mitchel) was to be tortured in the other leg, some it seems of his friends, dropped in a letter to Archbishop Sharp, that if he persisted in

the torturing of him, he should have a shot from a steadier hand."* It is much to be regretted that the law at that time permitted the use of torture; and that at his first examination, Mitchel suffered the torture of the boot. To this, however, the archbishop was no party; but Dr. Burns, with the design of blackening the archbishop, has recorded the above murderous threat, which looks exceedingly like approbation. Although the trial of Mitchel is in Wodrow's History, yet I copied what follows from the MS. statement of the trial, in the library of the Writers to the Signet. He was indicted for his attempted assassination of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, being at the same time a privy counsellor, which was an aggravation of his crime. The prisoner pleaded not guilty; and peremptorily *denied ever having made any confession at all*. It appears very odd, that he should deny the confession, and at the same time cling with such tenacity to the promise of life given as the condition of making that confession. And it is equally strange that the party which espouses the tenets and the crimes of Mitchel, should demand the fulfilment of a promise, while they show no disapprobation of his resolute determination to commit the murder, and of his dying not only unrepentant,

* Note to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 458.

but absolutely glorying in his detestable crime. Such inconsistent and unchristian conduct gives reason to suspect that their chief regret is the failure of his murderous design. Lord Fountainhall says, that " Sir George Lockhart defended him with admirable strength of reason and expression, but he would not communicate counsels with Mr. Ellis, though commanded to it by the lords ; and some thought his late producing that act of secret council was an oversight ; others judged it a design to entrap the duke and the other witnesses, and to reflect on them. The debate on the adjournal books well deserves reading ; for it was *one of the most solemn* criminal trials had been in Scotland these hundred years."*

In addressing the court, Sir George Mackenzie, the king's advocate, said, " The said Mr. James owns himself to be of a profession who hates and execrates that hierarchy ; and of which sect the unhallowed pen of Naphthali declares it *lawful to kill* those of that character. 2. It is notour (notorious,) and offered to be proved, that Mr. James himself defended that it was lawful to kill such, and endeavoured, by wrested places of Scripture, to defend himself, and gain proselytes

* Fountainhall's MSS., vol. i. cited by Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esq. ; Kirkton's Hist. p. 387.

thereby ; and if need were, as there is none, it is specifically and distinctly offered to be proven, that he acknowledged, that the reason why he shot at the archbishop was because he thought him a persecutor of the nefarious and execrable rebels, who appeared on the Pentland Hills :” and also, “ Likeas his confession was made in presence of his majesty’s privy council and the king’s commissioner, in whom all the judicatories of the kingdom do imminently reside, and who might have sent the pannel to the scaffold without an assize.”

The principal proof alleged against him was his confession in the year 1674. The debates continued so long, that the court adjourned to the 9th, when the court pronounced the following INTERLOCUTOR :—

“ Edinburgh, 9th day of January, foresaid, the Interlocutor following, was pronounced :—The lords commissioners of justice having considered the dittay and debate relating thereto, find that article of the dittay founded upon the 4 Act. 14 Par. Ja. VI., bearing the pannel’s invading by shooting, and firing a pistol at his grace the Archbishop of St. Andrews a privy councillor, for doing his majesty’s service, relevantly libelled, his majesty’s advocate proving the presumption in his reply, viz., that the said pannel said he did make the said attempt and invasion, because of the archbishop his persecuting those that were in the rebellion at Pentland, or some words to that purpose, relevant to infer the pain contained in the foresaid act of parliament, and remits the same to the knowledge of an assize. And likewise finds that

part of the dittay anent the invading of bishops and ministers, relevant to infer an arbitrary punishment, and remits the same to the knowledge of an assize. And sicklike that article of the dittay anent the wounding, invading, and mutilating of the Bishop of Orkney, relevant to infer an arbitrary punishment, and remits the same to the knowledge of an assize. And also, having considered that part of the debates anent the pannel's confession, made and emitted before a committee, appointed by authority of council to receive it; and thereafter adhered to and renewed in presence of his majesty's high-commissioner, and lords of privy council, convened in council, finds it is judicial, and cannot be retracted; and also having considered the debate and defence against the said confession, viz., that the same was emitted upon promise or assurance of impunity of life and limb, finds the same relevant to secure the pannel as to life and limb, referring to the commisioners of justiciary, to inflict such arbitrary punishment as they shall think fit, in case the defence shall be proven, and remits the same to the knowledge of an assize."

"The jury being sworn, Mitchell's confession was produced and read as follows :—'Edinburgh, 10th February, 1674. In presence of the lord chancellor, lord register, lord advocate and treasurer depute, Mr. James Mitchell, preacher, being called did freely confess he was the person who shot at the Archbishop of St. Andrews when the Bishop (of Orkney) was hurt thereby, in the year 1668, and depones upon oath that no living creature did persuade him to it, or was upon the knowledge of it.'

"Sic Subscr. J. Mitchell.

"Roths. H. Primrose. Jo. Nesbett. Ch. Maitland.

"MR. CHARLES PATERSON, advocate, purged of partial council and solemnly sworn, depones he met a man with a pistol in his hand, in Blackfriars-wynd, immediately after the

pistol was shot at the archbishop, but knows not the pannel, nor if he was the person that shot.

“PATRICK VANSE, keeper of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, &c. depones, that a day or two before or after the pannel (prisoner) was examined by the council, he confessed to the deponent, that he shot a pistol at the Archbishop of St. Andrews, escaped down Blackfriars-wynd, went up the Cowgate, and into Mr. Fergusson's house, and put on a periwig, and then came to the street and searched for the man that shot the pistol. Being demanded if he heard Mr. James Mitchel justify the deed, he depones he remembers it not.

“MR. JOHN VANSE, son to the keeper of the tolbooth, &c. being interrogated if he heard the pannel acknowledge the deed of shooting at the bishop or defend it, depones that being in conference with the pannel in the prison-house, he enquired at him how he or any man could be accessory to so impious an act as to kill a man in cold blood, who had not wronged him: he said it was not in cold blood, for the *blood of the saints* was reeking at the Cross of Edinburgh.

“JOHN, BISHOP OF GALLOWAY, deponed that the first time he saw the pannel was in Sir William Sharp's outer-room, where he saw a pistol, which was said to have been taken from him, out of which (as he supposes) there were three balls taken, and that the pistol was like the pistol now produced. Depones that at that time the pannel did not confess any guilt, but seemed to be in a great consternation, and fell a trembling; and that the deponent hearing that he had made a confession, went to prison to speak to him about it, who acknowledged to the deponent that he had made confession of that attempt against the archbishop before the chancellor and some others of the council, and that he had hopes of life, and desired the deponent to intercede for him; and the deponent having asked him how he could do such a deed against an innocent man; he answered that he thought him an enemy

to the godly, and that they would not be in security so long as he was alive ; and the deponent having enquired at him if he was sorry for it, he did not say he was sorry for it, but if it were to be done again he would not do it.

“ DR. CHRISTOPHER IRVINE depones that he was the first chirurgeon that came to the Bishop of Orkney after he received the shot, and that he did see a ball fall out of his sleeve, so that he knew that it was with a shot, and that the bones were fractured, and that they cured him so that he was able to lift his hand towards his head, but there were still scales coming out of the orifice of the wound ; depones the bishop said he got the wound when he was laying his hand upon the archbishop's coach.

“ JOHN JOSSIE, chirurgeon, depones that he was called to the Bishop of Orkney's cure, and that he had a wound betwixt the wrist and the elbow, which did cast out several small bones at the two small orifices, and that the bishop was able to lift his hand towards his head.

“ WM. BORTHWICK, surgeon, also swore to the same effect.

“ JOHN, EARL OF ROTHES, lord high chancellor of Scotland, being sworn, and the confession under Mr. James Mitchel's hand being shown to him, depones that he was present and saw the said Mr. James Mitchel subscribe that paper ; and depones that he heard him make the confession contained therein, and that he thereafter heard him ratify the same at the council-bar, in presence of the king's commissioner and lords of privy council sitting in council, and that his lordship subscribed the said confession. Depones that his lordship and treasurer depute were appointed by the privy council to examine the said Mr. James, and being interrogated if after they had removed the pannel to the council-chamber, whether or not his lordship did offer to the pannel upon his confession to secure his life in these words, ‘ upon his lordship's life,

honour, and reputation.' Depones that he did not at all give any assurance to the pannel for his life, and that the pannel never sought any such assurance from him, and his lordship does not remember that there was any warrant given by the council to his lordship for that effect, and if there be any expressions in any paper which may seem to infer any thing to the contrary, his lordship conceives it has been inserted upon some mistake.

" CHARLES MAITLAND, of Hattoun, lord treasurer depute, being sworn, and the confession under Mr. James Mitchel's hand being shown to his lordship, depones he was present when Mr. James Mitchel made that confession, and his lordship first heard him make it verbally, and then he saw him subscribe it, and that his lordship subscribed it also, and at that time there was nothing spoken of any assurance. But when the pannel was asked by some of the committee upon what account he committed that fact, he seemed at first unwilling to answer, but thereafter said it was because the archbishop is an enemy to the good people, or godly people in the west. Depones that within a few days thereafter a meeting of the council, where the Duke of Lauderdale, then his majesty's commissioner was present, the pannel being brought to the bar and the confession produced being shown to him, he acknowledged the same to be his hand-writing, adhered thereto, and renewed the same in presence of his majesty's commissioner and council; and depones that he did not hear the pannel either seek assurance of his life, or any person offer the same to him.

" JOHN, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE being sworn, depones that his grace was present as the king's commissioner, when Mr. James Mitchel was brought to the bar. Depones his grace saw the pannel's former confession, made at the committee of the council shown to him, and he acknowledged it to be his confession, and that he did adhere thereto and renew the

same, in presence of his grace and the council; his grace heard no assurance given to him, and that his grace did not give him any assurance, nor give commission to any others to give him any assurance, and could not do it, having no particular warrant from his majesty for that effect.

“ JAMES, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, being sworn, depones that that day the pannel did fire the pistol at his grace, he had a view of him passing from the coach and crossing the street, which had such impression upon his grace that upon the first sight he saw of him after he was taken he knew him to be the person that shot the shot. Depones that his grace saw him at the council-bar, in presence of his majesty's commissioner and the council, acknowledge his confession made before the committee, and heard him adhere thereto and renew the same, and that there was no assurance of life given him, nor sought by him there. Depones that his grace himself did never give him any assurance, nor give warrant to any others to do it, only he promised, at his first taking, that if he would freely confess the fault and express his repentance for the same, at that time, without farther troubling judicatories therein, his grace would *use his best endeavours for favour to him, or else leave him to justice*, but that he neither gave him any assurance nor gave warrant to any to give it. It is a false and malicious calumny, and that his grace made *no promise* to Nichol Somerville, other than that it was best to make a free confession, and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

“ Sic subscr. St. Andrews. H. Primrose, J. P. D.*

“ The pannel, after swearing the assize, produced a copy of a pretended act of council, and craved that the register of coun-

* Each of the witnesses subscribed their deposition in the same manner.

cil containing the said act might be produced, and after the examination and depositions of the witnesses upon the dittay and exculpation, the pannel and his procurators farther urged that the register of council might be produced, being an instrument signed Mr. Thomas Hay, one of the clerks of council, for giving an extract thereof, the pannel and his procurators alleged that the register of council containing the said act was produced in court the day before, and that the said act was read by several members of the court, and being once produced, and an instrument taken against one of the clerks of council, who with the other clerk were cited as witnesses by his majesty's advocate, the clerks ought to be ordained either to give an extract or produce the register containing the foresaid act; and the pannel and his procurators desire to be heard in writing upon the said act of council. His majesty's advocate answers, that he was not obliged to produce a register for the pannel, and if any such pretended act was he should have used a diligence and cited the clerks of council for producing the register or giving an extract, which the pannel not having done, he cannot be allowed a diligence in this state of the process; and if any such act of council was it was unwarrantable, and could not be made use of after the lord chancellor, Duke of Lauderdale, and the lord treasurer depute, and other lords of council, had deponed that there was no such assurance given as is either pretended by the exculpation or insinuated by the pretended act of council, and by the copy produced, it is evident that the design thereof is to take from the pannel any pretended favour he pleads; and if the act be founded on it cannot be divided, so that a mere narrative must prove, and the statutory words should not prove, especially seeing there is nothing more notour and ordinary than for the council not to consider a narrative if the statutory words be right; and as the pannel pretends that his confession cannot be divided from the assurance given, but

that it must be taken with the quality; so much less must this act be divided, and the pretended act is long posterior to the pannel's confession, and even posterior to a former diet in the justice court appointed for the pannel's trial for the said crime; and farther, no such assurance could have been granted, seeing none but his majesty can grant remissions. The pannel and his procurators desired the copy produced to be read. His majesty's advocate consents to the reading of the pretended copy of the act of council, and which being publicly read, is of the terms following:—*

“The pannel and his procurators renew the desire, and crave to be heard to debate upon the act of council in writing. The lords commissioners of justiciary, considering that the copy of the pretended act of council produced was never urged nor made use of, nor any diligence craved for producing the register of council until this afternoon that the assize was sworn, after which no diligence can be allowed or granted in this state of the process, by the law of the kingdom and practice of this court, especially seeing it appears by the said copy that the design was to take away any assurance that the pannel could have pleaded, and that the truth of the narrative of the copy founded upon, insinuating that there was an assurance, is cancelled by the depositions of the Duke of Lauderdale, then his majesty's commissioner, the lord chancellor, and other members of the committee and council. The said lords therefore ordain the assize to enclose and return their verdict to-morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon.

“Edinburgh, the said 10th January, 1678. The assize gives in their verdict conform to their written deliverance, whereof the tenor follows. As to the first part of the libel founded upon the 4th Act 16 p. Ja. VI., the chancellor and whole assize with *one voice*, find it proven, conform to the

* The same as is given before.

lords' interlocutor. As to the invading of bishops and ministers, and wounding the Bishop of Orkney sicklike, proven *with one voice*. As to the third part of the lords' interlocutor, concerning his confession, first before a committee and thereafter before his majesty's high commissioner and council, the whole assize *with one voice* find it proven conform to the lords' interlocutor. As to the fourth and last part of the interlocutor, concerning the exculpation, the whole assize, *with one voice*, find it noways proven; and farther concerning exculpation, when the pannel was pressing it strongly upon my lord chancellor, the whole assize heard his confession and acknowledgement of the fact.

“ Sic subscr. John Hay, Chancillor.

“ After opening and reading of whilk verdict the lords of justiciary, by the mouth of Adam Auld, Dempster of Court, decerned and adjudged the said Mr. James Mitchel to be taken to the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, upon friday, the 18th day of January instant, betwixt two and four of the clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he be dead, and all his moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his majesty's use, which was pronounced for doom.”*

The Act of Council certainly does show that the conditional promise was made to Mitchel; but it is alleged that John Hay, the clerk of council inserted that promise in the act without authority, and his being removed from his office after this trial, gives reason to believe the allega-

* MSS. Narrative of the Trial, in the Writers to the Signet's Library, Edinburgh.

tion. It is hardly credible that so many men of the highest rank and office in the kingdom would have perjured themselves for the purpose of taking the life of such a worthless, though dangerous man. Although Mitchel confessed and signed his confession in the presence of the privy council; yet he immediately afterwards denied that he had ever made any such confession, and continued this denial up to the last moment of his life. At the same time he clung with the utmost pertinacity to the alleged promise of the privy council to spare his life, provided he would make such a confession. His admirers since have never ceased to dwell on this promise as one of their gravest accusations against the primate. In the first place, if any such promise was made, he forfeited its benefit by his retracting his confession, and of which he was warned at the time by the privy council. In the next place, the primate was not implicated in this promise, and on his oath he deposed that he heard no such promise given at the council-board. Now this promise was not alleged to have been given at the board, but was said to have been a private transaction between the assassin and the lord chancellor, in another apartment, and which in the lapse of five years may have escaped his memory. Our ideas however of the sacredness of an oath would lead us to condemn any trifling with such a solemn

obligation, whilst we are left to decide betwixt the solemn oaths of so many illustrious individuals, and the *simple averment* of a convicted traitor and assassin.

Sir George Mackenzie, who was the prosecutor, says, "As to Mitchel's case, whereas it is said that he was executed after he confessed the crime upon promise of life, it is acknowledged by all that Mitchel, having upon the High-street of Edinburgh fired a pistol at the archbishop, with a design to murder him, he wounded the Bishop of Orkney with a shot, of which he never recovered; and being thereafter apprehended, confessed the crime: but continuing still to glory in it, and very famous witnesses having deposed that he was upon a new plot to kill the same archbishop, he was brought to trial, and his defences were, that the Earl of Rothes, to whom he confessed it, had promised to secure his life; and that the privy council had afterwards promised the same. For proving this the Earl of Rothes and others, who were upon the committee of the council, and all the other members of council whom he desired to be cited, were fully examined upon all his interrogatories; and the registers of council were produced; but nothing of a promise was made to appear by either: and is it to be imagined by any man of common sense that they all perjured themselves, or that the

registers of the council were vitiated to take the life of such an execrable villain as this fellow was, who died glorying in his crimes, and recommending to others the sweetness of such assassinations? ” *

But it is against the archbishop that all the reproaches of those who thirsted for his blood were heaped. In his evidence he says there was no assurance given to Mitchel at the council-bar. This agrees with the Act of Council, which says that Rothés took him aside into another room, and there made this promise. Again, the primate was accused of having made privately to Nicol Somerville, Mitchel's brother-in-law, a promise or assurance of life on his confession. Now it must be evident the archbishop had no such power; that was the alone prerogative of the crown. The primate on his oath denies that he ever made any such promise; but he frankly owns, “ that he promised, at his first taking, that if he would freely confess the fault, and *express his repentance for the same* at that time, (but which he never did,) without any further troubling judicatories therein, he would *use his best endeavours for favour to him*, or else leave him to justice; but that he either gave him assurance, or gave warrant to any one to give it, is a false and

* Sir G. Mackenzie's Works, vol. ii. p. 343.

malicious calumny ; and that his grace made no promise to Nicol Somerville, other than that it were best to make a free confession." The archbishop's evidence pointed to the private communication with Somerville, and he must be acquitted of the charge of perjury, with which he has been accused.

Dr. Burns has expressed his horror at this "mass of depravity, as is not, he believes, to be found in the history of any other European country ;" and he ends by showing his sympathy for this convicted assassin and rebel, by calling him "*poor Mitchel*." * Another author, however, who is not so tender of "wounding the Presbyterian cause through the sides of *poor Mitchel*," as the reverend doctor is, says, "The impudent villain likewise desired the judges that the primate himself might be cited into the court, to declare upon oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon a promise to endeavour to procure his pardon ; to which, being sworn, he answered, that immediately after his apprehension he took him aside to discourse with him in private, when he did assure him he forgave him, and would endeavour to save him from public justice, if he would confess the fact ; but that upon this encouragement he would make no confession, nor

* Note, p. 470.

ever after offered any to him ; so that though he still forgave him, yet he did not conceive himself bound to endeavour his preservation, after more than five years obstination in his crime.

“ There were many other witnesses ready to depone, of which there was no need. One of them could have testified, that he heard him say that he would do the fact, if it were to be done again : and another could have deponed that he heard him say, ‘ Let me but shoot at him again, and I’ll be content to be hanged if I miss.’ The jury, which consisted of fifteen gentlemen, *unanimously* found him guilty ; and when sentence was pronounced, that he should be carried to the common place of execution, and there be hanged, he told the judges that ‘ he took it as from God, but not from them.’

“ Since he was condemned, he desired that some conventicle ministers that were imprisoned with him might be admitted to give him comfort, and obstinately refused the assistance of the ministers of our church. However, one of them went to him to remind him of the murder he was guilty of in the eyes of God, though he suffered him not to effectuate his design. But instead of making any impression on his hardened heart, or receiving common acknowledgements for his good-will, he received nothing from him but reproaches, being told by him he was a murderer

of souls, and had the blood of souls to answer for, with many more rude and enthusiastic expressions.

“He was a lean, hollow-cheeked man, of a turbulent countenance, and had the air of an assassin as much as a man could have. He came with his periwig powdered to the bar, and behaved himself there with as much assurance as men devoted to do mischief by their principles and complexion, resolve before-hand always to do.” *

Some days before Mitchel's execution, Mr. Annand, dean of Edinburgh, out of compassion to the unhappy man's spiritual delusion, addressed a very pious and affectionate letter to him. He endeavoured to show him, from the gospel, how contrary his principles and practices were to the spirit of Christianity. Not discouraged by his rejection of another clergyman's consolations, he exhorted him to repentance for his unchristian attempt on the life of the archbishop, and causing the death of Dr. Honeyman. His praiseworthy endeavours only excited the spiritual pride of this unhappy convict. In his letter the dean urged that the impulse which he alleged he felt so many years to murder the primate could not be from God, like Phineas, when he transfixed

* Fanatical Moderation, pp. 5 and 7.

Zimri and Cosbi, else he would not have failed. A really divine commission or impulse like that, he said, could not be unsuccessful. Whether he was unable to answer this argument, or felt the force of it is uncertain; but in the following reply he takes no notice of it:—

“ Sir,—I received yours, and since my time is very short and so very precious, I can only thank you for your civility and affection, whether real or pretended; and I tell you, I truly close with all the precepts of the gospel, to love and peace; and therefore pray I both for Mr. Sharp and you. But knowing Mr. Sharp’s wickedness, and my own sincerity, and the Lord’s holy sovereignty to use his creatures as he pleases; I can only refer the manifestation of my fact, to the day of God’s righteous and universal judgement, praying heartily that God may have mercy on you, and open your eyes to see both the wickedness of all your ways, and of your godless insulting over an unjustly condemned dying man, and grant unto you repentance and remission of your sins.

“ I am in this your well-wisher,

“ James Mitchel.”

He was informed, that permission would not be granted to address the people from the scaffold. He therefore transcribed several copies of his intended speech, in which there is little else than vain-glory and spiritual pride. It contained likewise libellous reflections on the privy council, the judges, and the king’s advocate. In it he refers to his letter to a friend, written in gaol in February, 1674. The sentiments which he there

expresses, are very far from being the fruits of the Spirit : nevertheless, such were held in as great veneration by the frequenters of conventicles, as were the apostolic epistles by the primitive church.

“ The shooting that shot,” says he, “ intended against the Bishop of St. Andrews, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was hurt, to which I answered my lord chancellor *in private*, viz. that I looked upon him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of my brethren that followed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own : and my lord chancellor, as it was creditably reported to us, (the truth of which your lordship knows better than wee,) that he kept up his majesty’s letter, inhibiting any more blood to be shed upon that account, until the last ten were executed.”

It is somewhat remarkable that he suppresses the chancellor’s answer to this plain appeal. Had the chancellor assented to the allegation that the archbishop had kept up the letter, as a known truth, there cannot be the least doubt but that Mitchel would have been very careful to record it, and Wodrow no less careful to hand it down to posterity. But as only the accusation is made, it is fair to conclude that the chancellor denied the truth of this most atrocious slander.

“ And I, being a soldier,” he continues, “ not having laid down arms, but being still upon my own defence, nor having any other quarrel nor aim at any man, but according to my own apprehension of him ; and that as I hope, in sincerity, without fixing either myself or any one upon the *Covenant*

itself, and as it may be understood by many thousands of the faithful, besides the prosecution of the *ends* of the same Covenant, which *was and is*, in that part, the *overthrow of prelates and prelacy*; and I being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to me in like manner, so I never found myself obliged, either by the law of God or nature, to set a sentry at his door for his safety : but as he was always ready to take his advantage of me, as it now appeareth, so I of him, when opportunity offered. Moreover, we being in no terms of capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his instigation being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it *my duty* to *pursue him* upon all occasions.”—“ Where the seducers (to idolatry) father or mother, shall put him to death.” Ezek. xiii. 3. I take this to be meant of the Christian magistrate. But when he is withdrawn by the seducer, from the exercise of his office and duty, and he is become utterly remiss and negligent in putting the seducer to death, according to God’s express law, which is not to be expected of him, (for then he should do justice on himself,) but is become a protector and defender of the idolater, then I doubt not, but it doth become *the duty of every Christian*, to the uttermost of his power and capacity, to *destroy* and *cut off* both idolatry and idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously murdering *prelates*, *ought to be killed* by the avenger of blood” (to wit, every private Christian,) “when he meeteth them, by the express law of God, seeing the thing is manifestly true, Numb. xxv. 21 ; and not have liberty to flee to such cities of refuge, as *the vain pretext* of lawful authority ; but they should be taken even from the horns of such altars, *and be put to death.*”—“ The king himself, and all the estates of the land, and every individual therein, both were and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to have, by force of arms, *extirpated perjured prelates, and Prelacy*; and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes, the *Covenants* being

engaged unto them, upon these terms, *viz. the extirpation and overthrow of prelates and prelacy.*—"To which, if we may add their (the prelates) abominable pride, and blasphemous perjury, then their gods will be equal in number to the ~~w~~—e their mother, from whom they have their being, strength, and standing, and from the *devil* their *father*, who ~~was~~ a deceiver, liar, murderer, from the beginning; and now seeing the prelates possess whatsoever their gods Chemosh, &c. giveth them to possess, then why should not *we* possess what the LORD our GOD giveth us to possess, *viz.*, his eternal truths, manifested to us in his revealed will? for sure I am that God once dispossessed the prelates and malignants of these, and should they again possess through our defect?—*God forbid.*"*

Neither the archbishop's life, nor the lives of any of the other bishops were safe, with men avowing and teaching such sentiments. This "*pious youth*" spoke the language of all the Covenanters; and each man considered himself as called of GOD to be an "avenger of blood," that is, to murder the bishops when opportunity offered. This "*pious youth*" and military saint, had been watching for an opportunity, for several years, to shoot the archbishop, and actually tells us that "he thought it a duty to pursue him on all occasions;" and when taken, he had a pistol on him loaded with three balls, for the purpose of murdering him. And further, he adds, what indeed is very well known, that he was bound to

* Fanatical Moderation, pp. 14—20.

murder the prelates, by the never-ceasing obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. He actually did murder Bishop Honeyman, or, at least, caused his death ; yet it is the cant of the present day to say, that we are indebted to such men, holding such atrocious principles, for our civil and religious liberty ! A community holding and teaching such “ works of the flesh,” cannot be the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus ; neither can “ such works of the flesh inherit the kingdom of Heaven.” It is well known that the Covenant was the work of some French Jesuits, and has been the cause of much misery and bloodshed to these kingdoms. It was most righteously burnt by the hands of the common hangman, after the Restoration ; but after the Revolution, the present religious establishment of Scotland revived it. Under the withering auspices of this popish document, we read, by its own votaries, that, “ Instead of an establishment of faith and truth, we *swarm* with *noisome errors, heresies, and blasphemies* : instead of unity and uniformity in matters of religion, we are *torn in pieces* with destructive *schisms, separations, divisions, and subdivisions* : instead of true piety and the power of godliness, we have *opened* the very *flood-gates* to all *impiety and profaneness* : instead of submitting to the government of Christ, we walk in a *Christless looseness and licentious-*

ness: and, instead of a reformation, we may say with sighs, what our enemies have before said of us with scorn—we have a *deformation* in religion.”*

In the interval between his sentence and the scaffold, Mitchel always spoke of his approaching execution as a martyrdom and a murder, and gloried in what he ought to have been ashamed. His fellow Covenanters exhorted him to die with courage in the good cause of murder and rebellion; and to seal the Covenant with his blood. What between brandy, with which he was plentifully supplied, and enthusiasm, he kept his courage up to the last. The fanatics sent threatening letters to the archbishop, assuring him that, although Mitchel were hanged, another should complete his design, and murder him; and it was the universal design of the fanatics, to revenge Mitchel’s execution on the whole bench of bishops. When Mitchel fired at the archbishop, it was made a jest amongst the Covenanters; and even in the present day he is defended by Dr. Burns of Paisley: “In the case of Mitchel,” says the doctor, “there was absolutely

* A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them. Subscribed by the Ministers of Christ within the province of London, 14th December, 1647.

no proof whatever, except that founded on his *supposed* confessions ; and the leading men of the nation must perjure themselves, in order to bring in the *poor man* guilty. With Mitchel's private character we have nothing to do."* Indeed, then why is not the same allowance made to the bishops, when the whole venom of himself and the fanatics is poured out on their *private* characters? When it suits his convenience, too, Mitchel's confession is treated as supposititious ; nevertheless, the promise of life on confession, and the charge of perjury, are pertinaciously maintained. It might naturally occur to any one, but especially to a learned divine, that if the confession was "supposed," so might the promise of life be, which is founded on that "supposed confession ;" and consequently, that the charge of perjury is in the same degree supposititious.

The day preceding his execution, he sent a message to the lord provost, requesting that the scaffold might be constructed larger than usual, because a great concourse of his friends intended to appear on it. This vain-glorious request was refused. He died justifying and glorying in his intended murder of the primate, and in the odour of spiritual pride, presumption, and fanaticism. When his body was cut down, it was conveyed

* Burn's Notes to Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 458.

by his friends to the Magdalene Chapel, whence it was carried in great pomp to the grave, attended by upwards of forty mourners. The fanatical women in Edinburgh, had formed a design to rescue him, between the prison and the gallows. In consequence of information to this effect, the guards were doubled ; but the concourse of that sex was observed to be greater than upon any similar occasion.*

“ This execution,” says Mr. Guthrie, “ raised great horror against the government, but especially against Sharp, who has been chiefly loaded with its infamy. I am far from vindicating that prelate, as to the share he took in the public transactions of that time, *and yet I doubt his conduct has been exaggerated.* He had certainly raised many enemies, even among those who seemed most devoted to his will, and perhaps he had no real friend at the council-board. His memory, soon after the Revolution, became detestable ; and it was then fashionable for the friends of the government *to lay on him the blame of many measures*, in which they themselves concurred or directed. Hence it is, that the chief charges against Sharp rest upon Bishop Burnet’s private anecdotes, provincial traditions, and *inflamed narratives*, which *ought to be*

* Fanatical Moderation, &c. p. 44.

adopted with caution. Where such a man as Lauderdale governed, it is needless and in vain to load any other person with state crimes. In short, making allowances for party resentments, too much guilt of the times appears upon record, to prove this to have been one of the worst governments that ever existed in any civilized country, and gives but too much countenance to the wicked facts alleged to have been committed, though not recorded."*

In the autumn of this year, a minister of the name of Kingsland, formed a party amongst the Covenanted ministers, to bring the *indulged* ministers into contempt and odium with their own people. Cameron, Kidd, Hogg and Dickson were leaders of this band, and were commonly called "Kingsland's curates;"† indeed, division was their crime, and division has been their punishment.

Notwithstanding the occupation of the country by the "Highland host," many of the nobility and gentry refused to subscribe the bond; and some strong papers were drawn up against their legality. The council obliged the gentry, and some of the inferior people, to sign "law-burrows;" which was similar to one man giving

* Gen. Hist. vol. x. pp, 173, 174.

† MS. Papers in Ep. Chest, No. B 45.

bail to keep the peace towards another. The law-burrow, therefore, was a bond or engagement by the party, by which he engaged to keep the king's peace ; and likewise he engaged for his wife, bairns, (children,) men, tenants, and servants. This was complained of as a great hardship, which, in conjunction with the rapacity of the Highlanders, irritated the minds of the people. The Duke of Hamilton repaired to Edinburgh, and with him a number of the western nobility, and represented the distressed state of the country. Their representations being fruitless, these noblemen undertook a journey to London, notwithstanding the law prohibiting them from leaving the kingdom without permission. Charles had written to the council, approving of all the measures which it had adopted for suppressing the conventicles in the west, " which we and our laws think the rendezvous of rebellion."

The king refused to see Hamilton and the other lords, because they had left contrary to the Act of Council. Their journey, however, was not without effect ; for the Highlanders were ordered back into their mountains. The plunder which these Highlanders carried with them was immense ; the full particulars of which is recorded, with great appearance of exaggeration, by Wodrow. The king likewise ordered the proceedings by law-burrows to be stopt. The council published

a narrative of the proceedings, in vindication of the measures which they had pursued, grounded on the allegation that those counties where the "Host" had been quartered, were in a state of rebellion. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Roxburgh, Haddington and Perth, and the Marquis of Athole, with General Drummond, once more disobeyed the council, and went to London without license. Perth and Athole were principal officers in the highland army; they had been firm friends of Lauderdale, but now united against him. They were attended by Sir George Lockhart, one of the ablest lawyers of the time. Their representations were effectual, and the king ordered the law-burrows and the bond formerly mentioned to be suspended till his further pleasure. All the forces likewise, except the household-troops, were ordered to be immediately disbanded. The king received the Scottish noblemen with great sternness, and refused to suffer Hamilton to kiss hands, though he solicited permission on his knee.

Lauderdale ran some risk of losing the king's favour at this time. A convention of estates was summoned, which voted money for the pay of a new regiment of foot, and three troops of cavalry. Before breaking up, the estates addressed the king in favour of Lauderdale, which was answered by the king approving of his administration. The

Presbyterians were divided in their opinions on the propriety or impropriety of paying the cess laid on by the Convention. Those who were opposed to it contended, that their paying it was a sharpening of the sword of persecution; while others esteemed it lawful to pay a small sum, rather than have a larger taken by distress to be applied to the same purpose. "They were too much sharpened by the invectives that continually came from their brethren in Holland, and were adopted and propagated by their warm brethren in Scotland, till numbers of them not only scrupled to accept of any indulgence from the government, but to pay the assessment for the new-raised troops." *

In the western parts, the epidemic of attending field-conventicles increased with the means taken by government to suppress them, and the secret encouragement given to the ministers and people to disobey the laws. This evil spirit had broken out at Perth in the end of this year, as we learn from the correspondence of Anne Keith, wife of Patrick Smythe of Methven, by courtesy of the time, styled Lady Methven. Her husband was at London, but her ladyship maintained the king's peace in his absence. As formerly mentioned, the owners of the soil had at that time a

* Guthrie, Gen. Hist., vol. x. p. 183.

feudal or patriarchal authority over their vassals and tenants. This lady shows that the bond exacted by the government was no hardship on those who were well disposed. Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp has given several of her letters to her husband, descriptive of the means she adopted with success in suppressing conventicles attempted to be held on his lands of Methven. She marched at the head of her husband's vassals, armed with pistol and sword, and fairly drove the Whigs off her ground. She assured her husband that, "if everie master kiep'd as strick an eye over their ground as ye allow me to doe, there wold be no conventickells in the land ; they ar an ignorant, wicked pack, the LORD God clier the nation of them." This lady complains that, "Our governors are made up of Machiavel's principles. There is much envy and hatred for crossing the conventicles, but no encouragement to a faithful, true-hearted subject. I have got no thanks from the council, neither is any parish commanded to do the like." In short, the laws were made powerless by the secret encouragement given to restless separatists to assemble in spite of them, and from the discountenance given to those who supposed they were made to be maintained. The following letter addressed to her "heart-keeper," gives a lively picture of the times, and how a little firmness might have pre-

vented all that is now falsely called persecution, had the gentry been disposed to support the laws.

“ For my Heart-keeper,

“ My precious love,—A multitude of men and women from east, west, and south came, the 13th day of this October, to hold a field conventickell two bows’ draft above our church ; they hade their tent set up before the sun on your ground. I seeing them flocking to it, sent through your grund, and charged them to repair to your brother David, the baillie and me, to the Castell-hill, where wee hade butt 60 armed men. Your brother with drawn sword, and bent pistoll, I with the light horseman’s piece bent on my left arm, and a drawn tuck in my right hand, all your servants well armed, merched forder, and keepled the one-half of them fronting with the other, that wer garding their minister, and their tent, which is their standert. That rear partie, that we yocked with, most of them wer St. Johnston’s (Perth) people ; many of them hade no will to be known, but rid off to sie what we wold doe. They merched towards Basleie, we merched be west them, and gained ground before they could gather in a body. They sent off a partie of 100 men to sie what we meant by hindering them to meet ; we told, if they wold not goe from the parish of Methven presantlie, it should be a bluddie day, for I protested, and your brother, before God, we wold ware our liffes upon them befor they sud preach in our regalie or parish. They said they wold preach. We charged to fycht or flee. They drew to a counsell amongs themself’s what to doe ; at last about 2 hours in the afternune, they wold goe away if we wold lett the bodie that was abuve the church, with the tent, march frielie after them ; we was content, knowing they was ten tymes as manie as we was, and our advantage was keiping the one half-a-mylle from the other, be merching in order betwix them. They, seeing we was

desperat, marched ower the Pow; and so we went to the church, and heard a feared minister preach. They have sworn not to stand with such ane affront, but resolves to come the next Lord's-day; and I, in the Lord's strenth, intends to accost them with all that will come to assist us. I have caused your officer warn a solemn court of vassals, tenants, and all within our power to meet on Thursday, when I intend, if God will, to be present, and there to order them in God, and our king's name, to convene well armed to the kirk-yard on Sabbath morning by 8 ours, when your brother and I, with all our servant-men and others we can mak, shall march to them, and, if the God of heaven will, they shall either fecht or goe out of our parish; but alesse! there is no paroch about us will doe the lyke, which discouradges our poor handfull; yett if the eritors in the parish be loyall and stout, we will mak 500 men and boys that may carrie armes. I have written to your nevo, the tressoror of Edin. to send me twa brasse hagbutts of found, and that with the bearer. If they come agains setterday, I will have them with us. My love, present my humbell dewtie to my lord Marquis (of Montrose) and my lady, lykwayes all your friends, and, my blessed love, comfort yourself in this, if the fanatics chance to kill me, it shall not be for noucht. I was wounded for our gracious king, and now in the strength of the Lord God of Heaven, I'll hazard my persone with the men I may command before these rebels rest wher ye have power; sore I miss yow, but now mor as ever.

"On Monday the 14th your brother, the baillie, and I rade into the toune, and I callit on the provost, who cam to Lady Margarat Hays to me. I tould him how maiters went the day befor with us. He promises to caus garde the ports (gates) Setterday and Sondag next, to keep in the rabble of rebels. The sheriff was away to Edin. else I had spok to him that he would charge Balgowan and Tippermallo to caus

their men assist us. More of this ye will hear the next week. This is the first opposition that they have rancountered, so as to force them to flie out of a parish; God grant it be good hansell: there would be no fear of it if we were all steel to the back. My precious, I am so transported with zeal to beat the Whigges, that I almost forgot to tell yow, my Lord Marquis of Montrose bath 2 virtuous ladys to his sisters, and it is one of the loveliest sights in all Scotland, their nunrie. I sie many young gentlewomen there helping them to close a verie fine pice of sowing. Our onest Bishop Lindsay is laying sick of the gutt in his knies, and down to his futt; he was heartily remembered to yow. So is all I miet with. I wrote to yow formerlie to expeck me up, if ye wold not come; now I have engadged with the Conventickels, from whom I will not flie. I know ye will allow me to doe what I am abell to suppress them; I'll doe good will, God give the blessing, is the prayer of your, &c.

“ Anne Keith.”

“ Methven Wood,
“ the 15th instant, 1678.”

In a subsequent letter, Mrs. Smythe, who, according to the Scottish fashion, signs by her maiden name, complains to her “heart-keeper” that “it was a grievous matter we dare not drawe their blude, yett must disperse them; how should that be if they come weill armed to fight? The acts against them are *for and against*;—*riddles* indeed, not easie understood. My love, if everie parish were armed, and the stout loyall heads joining, with orders to concur, and *liberty to suppress them* as enemies to our king and the

nation, these raging gypsies wold settle."— Here then we see the policy of the times. Laws were made against these "raging gypsies," which were neither intended nor allowed to be put in execution. The loyal gentry were commanded to subdue them by force of arms, but yet were prohibited from "drawing their blude." And as her ladyship well remarks, how could that be avoided when the fanatical Whigges appeared in the field better armed and in greater strength than their opponents. There does not appear to have been any sincerity in the government to suppress the seditious Whigges, who met now more frequently and in greater numbers than ever. Charles himself was deceived. He truly believed the conventicles to be "rendezvouses of rebellion," and "nurseries of sedition;" and was really desirous of their suppression. The continual agitation in which conventicles kept the nation, answered the political views of some of the great men of the day, and the fugitives in Holland kept up that excitement which had its consummation in the total subversion of the national church, and the rabbling and persecution of the clergy, at the Revolution. In short, the same agitation existed in Scotland at that time as is now practised in Ireland by the papists, and where, perhaps, there will be similar results, if they continue to receive a similar connivance.

1679. In another letter, Mrs. Smythe informs her husband that the Provost of Perth and the Dean of Guild had waited on the Archbishop of St. Andrews to present a minister for the town. The archbishop "was verie siffel to them, and after he had tryed at the provost all the way of my proceeding against the conventickell, which was trewlie repeatted, the archbishop drank my good health, and said the clargie of this nation was obliged to me. But it was the LORD GOD's doing, who made me his instrument; praise, honour, and glorie be to his great name." The archbishop appreciated the merits of this loyal and religious lady, and wrote to her the following letter :—

" To the Lady Methven.

" St. Andrews, 27th March, 1679.

" Madam,—I had the favour of your ladyship's letter, signifying to me your purpose that Mr. John Omey be presented to the church of Methven, vacant by the decease of Mr. Hew Ramsey. I am well satisfied with Mr. Omey, who is a good man and a worthy minister, and shall be ready to goe along with your husband, the laird of Methven his design in reference to him. I am glad to find that your husband, a gentleman noted for his loyalty to the king and affection to the church, is so happy as to have a consort of the same principles and inclination for the public settlement, who has given proof of her aversion to join in society with separatists, and partaking of that sin, to which so many of that sex do tempt their husbands in this evil time, when schism, sedition, and rebellion are gloried in, though Christianity does condemn

them as the greatest crimes. Your ladyship, in continuing the course of your exemplary piety and zeal for the apostolic doctrine and government, shall have approbation from God and all good men, which is of more value than a popular vogue from an humourous silly multitude, who know not what they doe in following the way of seduction. You are commended to the establishment of God's grace in truth and peace, by

“ Honored madam,

“ Your ladyship's humble servant,

“ St. Andrews.”

In January of this year, John Paterson, Bishop of Galloway, obtained the king's license to reside in Edinburgh, because he had not a manse or competent dwelling-house within his diocese. From this document, as well as from the prosecution of Ramsey, Bishop of Dunkeld, we incidently learn that the Scottish bishops were rigorously compelled to reside within their respective dioceses. “Whereas,” says the license, “*none* of our archbishops or bishops may lawfully keep their ordinary residence *without* the bounds of their respective diocese, unless they have our royal dispensation, warrant, and license for that effect: those are, that in regard John, Bishop of Galloway, is not provided in a competent manse or dwelling-house in the diocese of Galloway, and for the better promoving of our service in the church, to allow and authorize the said bishop to live in or near the cities of Edinburgh or Glasgow,

or in any other convenient place, where he may be able to attend the public affairs of the church, &c." Here then we have a refutation of the scandalous assertions of the church's adversaries, that the bishops were continually plotting the persecution of the Covenanters, by their residence in Edinburgh, and stimulating the privy council. So much the contrary, that it appears they could not leave their own dioceses without license. In March of this year, Alexander Young, bishop of Edinburgh, was translated to Ross, vacant by the death of the elder Bishop Paterson, by the powerful interest of the Duchess of Lauderdale. This translation was for the purpose of making room for Bishop Paterson, son of the late Bishop of Ross, who was translated from Galloway to the see of Edinburgh, on the 29th of March. In September, Arthur Ross was translated from the see of Argyle to Galloway, and Colin Falconer, minister of Forres, was consecrated Bishop of Argyle.*

As a prelude to the meditated rebellion which was quelled at Bothwell-bridge, the Presbyterians murdered several soldiers and severely beat some officers. A Major Johnston, with some of his men, were trepanned into a house, under pretence of discovering to them a conventicle, where they

* Keith's Cat. of Scot. Bishops.

were severely wounded and nearly murdered by armed fanatics, who had come there for the purpose. Wodrow *admits* that they were *severely beaten* ; but they were wounded by pistol-shots and swords, and menaced with instant death, unless they swore never again to disturb a conventicle.

In April, two soldiers were barbarously murdered in their beds by a number of Presbyterians. Three soldiers were quartered on a farmer near Loudon-hill, because he had refused to pay his cess. Wodrow admits that they were *quiet, peaceable men*, and gave no unnecessary trouble. The farmer's wife warned them one day of danger, and advised them to leave the house. They answered, that having been sent there by authority, they dared not leave without orders, or payment of the cess. One of the three, however, suspicious of danger, went to Newmilns, and remained absent from the farm-house all night. The other two went to sleep in the barn as usual. About two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 20th of April, five men on horseback, and as many on foot, beset the barn where the soldiers slept ; and knocked at the door. One of the soldiers, thinking it was their comrade returned, incautiously opened the door. " He was saluted," says Wodrow, " with reproachful words, ' Come out you damned rogues,' and was shot through the

body, and fell down dead without speaking one word. The other got up upon this, to put to the door, and received a shot in the thigh from the same hand. The assassin alighted from his horse, and came in upon the soldier, who grappled a little with him, till another came up and knocked him down. He was perfectly dammished (stunned) with the stroke ; and when he recovered his senses, he thought it convenient to lie still in the place as dead. The murderers came into the barn, and took away the soldiers' arms and clothes, and in a little went off. This soldier lived till the Friday or Saturday after, and then died of his wounds." *

The soldier recognised his murderer to be one John Scarlet. Wodrow says, he was first one of Welsh, a field-preacher's, guards, and at the time of the murder was one of the armed guards that protected Cameron, another field-preacher. Here then is a cool, deliberate, premeditated murder, committed by ten armed fanatics, the principal actor being one of the confidential attendants on a notorious Presbyterian preacher. This horrid crime was committed as a preparative for a field-conventicle, which was held that same day in the neighbourhood. This was the natural consequence of the murderous tenets inculcated

* Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

by the field-preachers. Even Wodrow himself is compelled to acknowledge, "that about this time *matters were running to sad heights among the ARMED followers of some of the field-meetings.*" The Covenanters considered and stated themselves to be in a state of war with the king, they took every opportunity to murder his soldiers, and they formally excommunicated himself. "They looked upon the king," says De Foe, "as an enemy and persecutor of God's people; as a prince perjured by his breaking and renouncing the Covenant; and guilty of involving the whole nation in the same detestable crime of perjury; also they looked upon him as a persecutor of God's church, and a bloody destroyer of his people. And for these reasons they could not satisfy themselves to pray for him, or to say to him, God speed." *

The nobility and gentry of Ayrshire met and drew up an address to the council, disavowing any countenance to the crimes of these Presbyterians. In this address they accuse the Covenanting ministers of preaching doctrines that necessarily and inevitably led to the crimes of murder and rebellion. These crimes, and the assembling of armed men at field-conventicles, they said, were "occasioned by a few unsound,

* Memoirs of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 213.

turbulent, and hot-headed preachers, most part whereof were never ministers of the Church of Scotland, making it their work to draw people to *separation and schism* from pure ordinances, and *instil in them the seeds of rebellion*, by their informations, *exhortations*, and doctrine, as we are informed."* These accusations are the truth, and are borne out by such of their speeches and letters as have been so faithfully recorded by their martyrologist, Wodrow. When Richard Cameron was sent as a missionary into Anandale, Welsh, after laying his hands on him at his ordination, said, "Go your way, Ritchie, *and set the FIRE of HELL to their tails!*" †

The intemperate and seditious conduct of the field-preachers alarmed the government. Welsh, Cameron, Kidd, and others, rode through the western counties attended by multitudes of armed men, who set law and order completely at defiance. A proclamation was consequently issued, commanding Lord Linlithgow, the commander of the forces, "to give money for intelligence where those conventicles are appointed, that thereby they may be able to seize and apprehend such as shall be found at the said conventicles; and in case of resistance, to pursue

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 38.

† Scot's Worthies : Life of R. Cameron.

them to the death ; declaring the said officers and soldiers shall not be called in question therefore, civilly or criminally." A very frequent subject of these preachers' sermons was the duty of making war on the king, the bishops, and the curates, as they contemptuously called the established clergy. Wodrow, as usual, charges the primate with the whole guilt of this necessary caution ; but which the author of the True and Impartial Account says, is " neither more nor less than a manifest falsehood." He cites Wodrow, who says, " That this proclamation may be reckoned the primate's legacy, and an earnest of what he would have essayed had he got up to court, which still insinuates a further *vindication* of the murder." Wodrow however, as usual, gives no authority, but only his own insinuations. The king signed the proclamation of his own free motion, and not, as Wodrow maliciously asserts, to be a " warrant to the council, if afterwards called to account for it ;" the truth of which may be seen from the following letter from the king to the privy council, in answer to theirs, submitting the proclamation to him previous to its being issued :—

“ CHARLES REX.

“ Right trusty, &c.—Having seen and considered the proclamation (for the suppression of field-conventicles) which in your letter of the 1st instant, to the Duke of Lauderdale, you sent hither for our perusal and approbation before the

publication thereof; we are so well pleased with it, and do judge it so fit for that purpose, as that we do give you our hearty thanks for that good effect of your care and diligence to promote our service, and preserve the peace of that our ancient kingdom; and do return it to you without any delay, to the end that no time may be lost in the prosecution of so good a work; whereof that you may have our full and solemn approbation, we have thought fit ourself to sign the draft you sent up as you have it here enclosed; and we are fully resolved upon all occasions to assert and maintain our authority, and to put the laws in execution as well against those who by private and underhand dealings, endeavour to create any disturbance to our government there, either in church or state, (where the same shall be made manifest to us,) as against those who of late have assumed the boldness more openly to attempt the raising of a rebellion there, by frequent and numerous convocations in arms at field-conventicles, (these nurseries of rebellion,) and many other irregular and illegal courses; so we do hereby give you our assurance that you shall have all due countenance, encouragement, and protection from us, in the discharge of your duties in our service, against all who shall traduce or asperse any of your proceedings, which have been so agreeable to law and reason, as we cannot but admire the impudence (no less than the malice) of such persons as study to create a contrary opinion of your actions. We did receive such full satisfaction from these lords, you sent up last year, to inform us, when there was some noise raised (indeed very unjustly) against your procedure, as we do now think fit to desire that some of your number may repair hither with all convenient expedition, to the end we may not only receive from them a full account of the state of our affairs there, but also may have an opportunity to signify our pleasure in many things (after conference with them) which at present we cannot impart in a letter. And because the noble-

men who are employed in our service are either of our privy council or have command of our forces, or both, and therefore cannot well be absent at this time, we have thought fit rather to require you to send three of our officers of state; viz. our clerk-register, our advocate, and our justice-clerk, together with the president of our college of Justice, and Sir George Mackenzie, of Tarbert, our justice-general, seeing from them we can have full information, as well in matters of law as in fact. So expecting from them a ready compliance with this our pleasure, and not doubting the continuance of your care and diligence in all things that concerns our service, and the peace and quiet of that our kingdom, we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 6th day of May, 1679, and of our reign the thirty-first year.

“ By his majesty's command,

(Signed) “ Lauderdale.”

We come now, in the melancholy conclusion of this history, to record one of the blackest deeds which disgraces the annals of any country. It is the more disgraceful, inasmuch as it has been sedulously inculcated into many otherways good people, that this sacrilegious murder was a lawful deed, and just punishment. The guilt of this foul murder still rests on those who approve of it; and the sacred blood of that father of the church still cries to heaven. Punishment soon followed this unparalleled crime, by having, as a nation, both the candle and the candlestick removed from the land. A moral cloud has hung over it for a century and a half; but which is

now beginning to be dispelled. An ignorant and fanatical race of barbarous field-preachers has been succeeded by a body of respectable ministers, among whom learning is beginning to revive. A remnant of that church planted by Archbishop Sharp, and watered with his blood, has survived the shock of revolution, and the fire of a persecution unparalleled since the pagan persecutions of the primitive church, and has again taken root downward, and is now bearing fruit upwards; while scarce a vestige of its sworn enemies, the Covenanters, is now to be seen; that particular sect having dwindled into a few congregations, very small in number, and still smaller in respectability, and holding no communion with the other Presbyterian sects in that divided country. They occasionally hold a solemn fast for renewing the League and Covenant, but although they retain its spirit, its actual obligations they are unable, from change of circumstances, to fulfil. The Antiburgher and Burgher seceders still cherish the Covenant, and the latter periodically renew it. Although that document stands in the Westminster Confession of Faith, yet it is but justice to the Scottish establishment to say that it is a dead letter. Nevertheless, decency requires that they should expunge it from their formulary, before they lay claim to what however has never

been conceded, the character of a "sister church."

The murder of Archbishop Sharp had been long premeditated, and, in fact, was a natural consequence of the murderous doctrines taught by the field-preachers. Wodrow delicately calls his execrable murder, "a violent death," and himself, "a bloody and perfidious man."* Russell, in his account of this "fact," as it is likewise cautiously denominated, calls his murder a "*duty*." "They resolved to fall upon Carmichel at St. Andrews," that is, to murder him. "Some objected, what if he should be in the prelate's house, what should be done in such a case? whereupon all present judged *duty* to *hang both* over port, (gate,) *especially the bishop*, it being by *many of the LORD's people and MINISTERS judged a DUTY long since, not to suffer such a person to live*, who had shed and was shedding so much of the blood of the *saints*, and knowing *that other WORTHY CHRISTIANS had used means to get him upon the road before*."† So determined were these "saints" in their bloody work, that a short time before, they sent John Archie and Henry Corbie into the western counties, "to

* Vol. ii. p. 40.

† Russell's Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharp, appended to Kirkton's Hist. pp. 407, 408.

know the minds of *other ministers and Christians*, which was evidently enough made known, by what was coming to their ears every day, of their *resisting of soldiers*, both at meetings and for paying cess." Going armed to their conventicles, resisting the troops, and murdering the soldiers, were therefore parts of an organised plan for the *extirpation* of the bishops. We have here their own authority to say, that these fanatics went armed, not as Wodrow falsely alleges, for self-defence, but for the bloody purpose of murdering their adversaries, when opportunity offered. Russell continues—"One Alexander Smith, a weaver, at the Struther Dyke, *a very godly man*, after prayer anent* their clearness in the matter about (the murder of) Carmichel, desired all to go forward, seeing that God's glory was the only motive that was moving them to offer themselves to act for his broken-down work; and if the LORD saw it meet to deliver Carmichel into their hands, he would bring him in their way, *and employ them in some piece of work more honourable to God and them both.*"† This more honourable

* A vulgar Scotticism, which means "respecting," "regarding," "opposite to," "over against."

† Russell's Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharp, appended to Kirkton's Hist. pp. 409, 410.

piece of work was the murder of the archbishop, which these "very godly men" premeditated.

The party engaged about this "very godly" work, chose Haxton of Rathillet, for their captain in his absence, and "blessed the LORD that had put it into the minds of his people to offer themselves for carrying on the LORD's work!" "and appointed the next Saturday for seeking the LORD's mind further into the matter, and that the LORD would stir up the minds of *his people* to appear for his cause." Haxton declined to act as captain, because he had a personal quarrel with the primate. The archbishop's chamberlain had arrested him for embezzling the property of one Lovel, of Cannuchie, to whom he was guardian. This Lovel was the archbishop's vassal, and left Haxton guardian to his children, who was confirmed in his office by the primate, as the superior, in February 1677. The rents of the estate of Cannuchie were due to the primate by decree and sentence of the judges; but out of kindness to Lovel's children, he authorised Haxton to collect the rents, and sell the produce, that he might allow them an annual maintenance. Haxton collected the rents and sold the produce, but instead of accounting for the proceeds, he purchased arms for the Covenanters. The primate accepted his bond for the money, but

Haxton still evaded the payment. In March 1678, during the primate's absence, and without his knowledge, his grace's chamberlain arrested Haxton for the debt. When the archbishop was informed of this transaction, he would not have consented to his imprisonment, had he not been credibly informed, that the rents of Canuchie, and the produce sold had been disposed of by Haxton for horses and munitions of war, for equipping the conventicle saints, which they considered only as a spoiling the Egyptians. He continued in prison till Dr. Falconer, his relation, became bound for the sum due. "Private pique, aggravating Presbyterian rancour, inflamed him against Sharp." Declining to act as captain, John Balfour, commonly called of Burley, was therefore chosen to command this body of very godly men, and whom Wodrow always delicately terms "the captain," but carefully abstains from naming; and Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp says, that Balfour was a ferocious enthusiast, "although he was by some reckoned none of the most religious. He was a little man, squint-eyed, and of a very fierce aspect!"

They commenced operations, by drawing up the following paper, which Haxton posted on the church-door of Cupar in Fife, on Wednesday, the 30th of April:—

“ To all and sundry to whose hands these presents shal come, but especially to the magistrates and inhabitants of the town of Cupar in Fife.

“ Be it known to all men, that whereas under a pretext of law, though most falsely, there is most abominable, illegal and oppressive robberies and spoils committed in this shire, by Captain Carnegie, and his soldiers, by virtue of a precept from that adulterer William Carmichel, held on to it by that perjured apostate, Prelate Sharp, a known enemy to all godliness : These are therefore to declare to all that shall any way be concerned in this villainous robbery and oppression, either by assisting, resetting, levying, or in any manner of way countenancing the same, (however they thought themselves at present guarded by a military force, and these persons spoiled, despicable,) that they shall be looked on as accessory to the robbery, and should meet with a punishment answerable to the villainy, and that by a party equal to all who durst own them in these courses ; and that so soon as God shall enable them thereto, whose names they shall find under subscribed, in these following letters, A, B, C, &c.”*

Next morning, the above paper struck terror into the whole inhabitants of Cupar, but particularly those employed in the execution of the laws. Three days before the murder, some of the assassins had a meeting, at Millar's house in Magask, where they concerted the plan of the assault. The following night, the 2d of May, they lodged in Robert Black's house in Baldinny,

* MSS. Ep. Chest. Russell's Account, p. 411. True and Impartial Account, Appendix to the Preface, p. liii.

whose wife eagerly instigated them to murder the archbishop. One of the murderers kissed this amiable lady at parting, when she prayed that God would bless and prosper them. She added, besides, "If long Leslie (the minister of Ceres) be with him, lay him on the ground also;" that is, murder him. The ruffian, holding up his hand, exclaimed, "There is the hand that shall do it." They were further encouraged in their bloody purpose by Andrew Turnbull, who informed them, that "all the west was already in arms." These facts were deposed on oath before the privy council; and the following document, among the Episcopal manuscripts, confirms the above:—

"On Thursday, the first day of May, in the morning, there were three or four of the villains at John Millar's house in Magus, and they had a discourse of my lord St. Andrews, and that his daughter was a high-handed gentlewoman, indeed, who refused the laird of Barns, who was seeking to marry her: he was a well-born gentleman, and they were not so good, but lower than he. Another answered, *We shall make him lower ere it be long.* Then they fell all a whispering for some space, and thereafter one of them broke out thus: 'We will be able to do it amongst ourselves, we need no other help; Robert Black will be one. John Millar was present all the while; and this Robert Black is the tenant in Baldinny, at whose house either all the nine, or most part of them, were either all the night before, or breakfasted with him in the morning; and it is reported, that at their parting, Black's wife, (when one of them kissed her,) did bid God

bless him and prosper him ; and if long Lesslie be with him, lay him on the green too : at which he answered, ‘ There is the hand shall do it.’

“ It is also reported for a certainty, that Andrew Turnbull, tenant to Broomhall, crossed the water the same tide with my lord, and was the man that came to Kennoway, asking if my lord was quartered there, and thereafter was present at the fact, and encouraged the rest to it ; and said that all the west was up already.

“ When the murderers returned from the spot, John Millar spoke with them, and his first expression was, Lord forgive you, sirs, for doing this so near my house, for it will herry me ; and thereafter he and his servants gave them their two cloaks and coat, which they dropped at his dykes, when they rode to the action.

“ Some four hours after my lord’s corpse was brought into St. Andrews, Henderson in Kilbrachmont his son rode through St. Andrews on a bay horse, and at the Abbey-gate asked twice at one Habistone, if the good man of the abbey was dead ? and then rode peaceably away, and now talks of it freelie enough, and the most part of this time since hath kept his father’s house unquestioned until this hour, although it be not doubted that he was an actor.

“ The night before the murder, John Balfour and Rathillet came to the house of Rathillet, with a webster in Balmarino parish, and stayed no longer but till the horses were baited, and Rathillet changed his breeches, and immediately horsed. John Balfour had his beard long, at least ten weeks grown ; and there was no mention of the murder at Rathillet, till about nine o’clock at night the next day, at which time there came in a person to the house, and rounded (whispered) something to John Balfour’s wife, who, within a little, (without any change of countenance,) said, the bishop has taken a sleep in the home-going. For certain, John Balfour

was not at Kinloch since the murder, nor for two days before.

“ In the beginning of the week after the murder, John Balfour’s wife fled from Rathillet, leaving behind her a child to whom she gave suck, and was dislocate in one of the arms, whereof the child was like to die : within two days after, all the servants about the house fled, except one lass that attends that child. Robert Dingwall, son to William Dingwall, in Coldhame, near Leslie, is reported to have been at the murder ; and his father being examined at Cupar, depones, that on the Saturday morning, young Inchdairnie and Henry Shaw took away his son, well mounted and armed, but whither he knew not, and that he had not seen him since.

“ There is also one Robert Forrest a bonnet-maker, who left Dundee for adultery, who drinking that Saturday morning with William Leslie, my Lord Chancellor’s gardiner, and John Colville his ryder, refused to drink a health with this expression : ‘ Ere 48 hours ye shall get a health to drink indeed ; ’ and before the news came the length of Leslie, he fled and hath not since appeared.

“ Robert Black and John Miller, with their servants, knows all the persons, and for certain have prevaricated in their examinations at Cupar, and ever will, except the truth be extorted ane other way, for it is well known that the murderers are als dear to them as their nearest relatives, and their giving in delations against them, is called by them and their party, a betraying of the godly.” *

The plot to murder the primate was of long standing ; and it appears that his grace was not the only one marked out for slaughter. There is no doubt but that they intended to have mur-

* MSS. papers in the Ep. Chest. A. 18.

dered Mr. Carmichel, as well as Mr. Leslie, the minister of Ceres, and made many efforts, both on the 2d and 3d of May, to fall in with the former, in which they were happily disappointed. These blood-thirsty saints intended to commit three murders on Saturday, the 3d of May, as a preparative to keeping a field-conventicle on Sunday, the 4th, "resolving to resist such as should offer to oppose the meeting, and there was one away for bringing of a minister." * This is a lively commentary on their principles ; and shows with how little reason the government of Charles II. has been accused of tyranny, in suppressing such "rendezvouses of rebellion," and "nurseries for murder."

On Friday night, the 2d of May, the thirteen murderers met on the moor, north-east from Gilston, one of whom was sent away, the rest "not being clear to reveal to him what was designed." He knew of their intention to murder Carmichel ; but it seems they did not consider it prudent to communicate to him their intention of murdering the primate. The twelve conspirators names were : David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinlock, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleman in Balbathie, Andrew Henderson and Alexander Henderson in Kilbrachmont,

* Russell's Account, p. 411.

William Dalziel in Caddam, James Alexander and George Balfour in Gilston, Thomas Ness in P——, and Andrew Guillon, weaver, in Balmarnock. “These after a while advise what to do, and no more coming, and fearing they should be discovered, there being troopers and soldiers in Cupar, Luderney, Balchristy, Largo and Auchtermuchty, they went all to Robert Black’s in Baldinny, himself being absent for fear of being taken, where, putting up their horses, *and praying (!)* they laid down in the barn to sleep.” They afterwards, went eastwards, and were met by Andrew Guillon, who advised them where to go, so as to fall in with the archbishop. At this time “Balfour said, *he was sure they had something to do*, for he being at Paris, his uncle’s house, intending towards the Highlands, because of the violent rage in Fife, *was pressed in spirit to return*; and *he enquiring the Lord’s mind anent it, got that word borne in upon him*, Go AND PROSPER. So he, coming from prayer, wondering what it could mean, went again,” (to enquire the Lord’s mind,) “and got it confirmed by that scripture, GO, HAVE NOT I SENT YOU? whereupon, he durst no more question, but presently returned.”* So here these murderers proceed under a strong delusion, and by the insti-

* Russell’s Account, p. 413.

gation of the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, as if acting under as divine a warrant as that under which Saul went forth to "slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Searching for Carmichel was a mere pretence; and as a proof of this, that amiable lady, Mrs. Black of Baldinny, sent a boy on Saturday morning, to enquire how they had sped, and to inform them that the archbishop's coach was approaching; "which they seeing betwixt Ceres and Blebo-hole, said, 'Truly this is of God, and it seemeth that God hath delivered him into our hands; let us not draw back, but pursue; for all looked on it, considering the former circumstances, as a clear call from God to *fall upon* him.' *

Here Rathillet surrendered his command of the party, saying, "as he had a private quarrel with the primate, his revenge would mar the glory of the action." James Russell said, "it had been borne in upon his spirit some days before in prayer, having more than ordinary overlettings of the Spirit, that the LORD would employ him in some piece of service, or it was long, and that there would be *some great man*, who was an enemy to the kirk of God, cut off. He was forced to devote himself to God, and enter in a

* Russell's Account, p. 414.

covenant with the LORD, and renew all his former vows and engagements against papists, prelates, indulgences, and all that was enemies to the work of God, and opposed the flourishing of CHRIST's kingdom ; and that he should not refuse nor draw back, whenever the LORD should enable him and give him strength, though there be never so much seeming hazard ; upon the 2d day of May at Lessly, 1679. And seeing he had been at several meetings, with several godly men in other places of the kingdom, who not only judged it *their duty to take that wretch's life*, and *some others*, but had *essayed it TWICE before*, and came to the shire (of Fife) for that purpose, and once wonderfully he *escaped* at the Queensferry, for he went down to Leith with the chancellor in a boat ; in the mean time they were on the other side coming over, but knew nothing of it ; and the LORD had kept them back at that time, he having more blood to shed, for this was about eight days before Mr. James Mitchel was execute ; but he said, he was sure that he had a clear call at that time, and that it seemed the LORD had delivered that wretch into their hand, and he durst not draw back but go forward, considering what engagements the LORD had taken from him the day before ; for though the LORD had kept him back formerly, *he*

doubted not but his offer was acceptable to the LORD." *

This is the language of one of the principal actors in this horrid drama. Mitchel's attempt, was not the solitary act of a desperate fanatic, impelled by a sudden impulse and a favourable opportunity; but the formed and systematic design of the whole party. Those who were capable, and whose religious principles taught them to premeditate, and make so many attempts to take away the primate's life, as well as the lives of the other bishops, had no right to complain of the severities of the government. Such ruffianism, which would disgrace a horde of Tartars, ought not to have been tolerated by any government. Those men who justify and applaud the murder of the archbishop in the present day, are partakers of the guilt of the fanatical ruffians who actually imbrued their hands in his blood. And what must we think of the ministers of the Solemn League and Covenant, who taught and inculcated such bloody tenets as works well pleasing and acceptable to God? and, alas! I have myself heard Presbyterian ministers applaud and justify that savage and sacrilegious deed.

* Russell's Account, p. 415.

The following letter, without any signature, addressed to the archbishop's son, is among the Episcopal papers :—

“ That the late execrable murder was premeditated by the actors and many more, is clear from the letters found about young Inchdairney, * and other letters found in the chest of James Russell in the Kettle, a prime actor, both which are supposed to be in the custody of the laird of Findhaven, or Baillie Carmichel at Cupar.

“ It is certain, that my lord archbishop's way was be-laid by diverse parties of horse, one whereof came alongst by the south side of Tarvit-hill on the Saturday morning, to the number of twelve or fourteen ; and it is most probable that this was the partie who stood at the Green-cross, a place betwixt Dura and the Quires, and lay in wait for his grace's return, whither it was by Cupar to St. Andrews, or by Kennoway to the Craig : but what they were is not known.

“ As for the party that perpetrated the murder, they were seen on Friday night at a landward place, within a mile of Craighall, called Hurleswynd, where Thomas Glover dwelt some years ago ; and it is certainly reported, that two of these came to Kennoway about midnight, enquired if my Lord St. Andrews was lodged at Capt. Seaton's, and presently turned bridle. Where the rest were on that Friday's night is not yet known at this place. But on Saturday morning they were first seen in Teasemoore, and intended to have set upon the coach in that heath be south Ceres, where it is certain they were in some confusion, for Rathillet's horse run from him, and was taken and given back to him by the gardiner of Struthers, and John Balfour with one man, entered

* Andrew Aytoun, Esq., younger, of Inchdairny.

so far into the town of Ceres in pursuit of the coach, that through a mistake he rode to the minister's gate and quickly retired. They had breakfasted some time before, and given their horses corn at Robert Black's house in Baldinny, a place within two miles of that where the fact was committed, whose house being since searched, there was found in it in a chest, baked meat, short-bread, and some bottles of brandy.

"Thereafter having the coach in view, they kept half a mile to the south of the coach, till they came to Kininmonth, the coach then being about Blebo-hall. Immediately they came down from the height, and galloped throw a little valley at Ladeddie lime-kills, having the top of the coach still in view, with a purpose to commit the deed at the double-dikes of Magus. In order thereto, and to gain so considerable an advantage, John Balfour came at a high rate through Magus town to have stopped the coach there, while the rest rode about the dikes, through a shed of peas, dropping, hard by the dikes, two cloaks and one riding-coat. But the coach being a little past that place, John Balfour came some little time before the rest, (and here first, did my lord's servants see the rogues,) stopped the coach, wounded the postilion, and shot and strake at the foremost horse. By (the time) this was done, the coach was surrounded, and immediately the nefarious villainy committed ; which done, the ruffians quietly rode back the way they came, at a slow pace, took up their cloaks and coat, and were spoken to by the servants at Magus.

"For the number of villains, some country-people say, they were but nine in number that assaulted the coach, whereof one in a grey hat, one in a velvet cap, one in a livery cap, the rest for the most part in cloth caps.

"For the men it is certain that John Balfour and Rathillet were two and most active ; there were also the above-named James Russell, George Balfour, brother to the Balfours in

Gilston, and one Henderson, son to John Henderson, tenant in Kilbrackmonth.

“ More of the rogues and more of the design and fact, and their retreat, is not yet certainly known at this place, bot the informer is hopeful, once on Sunday or Tuesday next at farthest, to get a more full discovery. In the mean time, it is to be presumed, that Bailie Carmichel, from the examinations at Cupar, can give more light, although it be extremely doubted, if John Millar at Magus and all his servants, men and women, be so strictly examined as they ought to have been.

“ It is certain, Rathillet only joined with the party on Friday morning.”

“ For Sir William Sharp, these.” *

We must now leave the murderers, and return to the archbishop. It was surmised by Government that the fanatics had some dangerous projects in contemplation at this period, and that they were encouraged in their seditious designs by some noblemen who kept themselves in the back ground. The Covenanters were merely, in the language of the times, the “under-spur leathers,” while “in the court itself, there were then an Absalom and an Achitophel too, who were stealing away the hearts of the people : and they did not want many abettors, some of whom, perhaps, were the king’s own servants.” † To

* MSS. Ep. Chest, A. 19.

† True and Impartial Account, p. 72.

complain of these, and to warn the king of his danger, Archbishop Sharp resolved to make a journey to court. But previously, it was necessary for his affairs, to return to St. Andrews. On Friday, therefore, the 2d of May, he crossed the Forth, accompanied by his eldest daughter Isabel. On the evening of that day, he reached Kennoway, where he remained all night. Two of the murderers came into that village about midnight, and made anxious enquiries whether the archbishop slept at the house of Captain Seton. Upon receiving the required information, they hastily rode off and joined the conspirators, who, it will be remembered, were on the alert next morning. Dr. Monro waited on the primate on Saturday morning, previous to his leaving Kennoway, and found that his spirits were very much depressed. It was remarked, that on Friday night and Saturday morning he ate and drank very sparingly. He was likewise longer and more fervent than usual in his private devotions; as if he had had a presentiment of his approaching and fearful end. His religious deportment on Saturday morning was so impressive that the learned and pious Dr. Monro said, he believed he was inspired. On Saturday morning, about nine o'clock, they continued their journey, and the primate, in his conversation, dwelt entirely on the vanity of life, the certainty of death and

judgment, the necessity of faith, good works, repentance, and daily growth in grace; and as if presaging sudden death, he gave his daughter such pious counsel and advice, as if he had been on his death-bed; her answers to which were so satisfactory, that he embraced and formally blessed her, about half an hour before he was assaulted. As he passed a farm-house, called Magus, he remarked to his daughter, "There lives an ill-natured man: God preserve us, my child." The name of this ill-natured man was John Miller, and he was certainly in the secret of the murderers' intentions. When the conspirators passed his house, they inquired at him, if that was the bishop's coach; but from fear he made no answer. His servant-woman ran up to Russell, who made the enquiry, and assured him that it was. It was in Millar's house that the conspirators concerted their sacrilegious purpose. Although he did not join them in perpetrating the murder, yet there is no doubt that he wished them success. The conspirators, except Rathillet, dropt their cloaks at this man's house, when pursuing the archbishop, and he, like Saul, kept them till their return. This "ill-natured man" was on the watch for their return, and delivered their cloaks, remarking "LORD forgive you, sirs, for doing this so near my house, for it will harrie me."—Not for doing the bloody

deed itself, but *for doing it so near his house*, and by consequence implicating him.

As the archbishop's equipage drove past the Struthers, he sent a servant to say to the Earl of Crawford, that it was not in his power to wait on him at that time. Soon after passing the farmhouse at Magus, between eleven and twelve o'clock, the coachman, looking round, saw the conspirators riding at full speed, pistols in hand, and swords drawn, and hanging from their wrists, He immediately called to the postillion to drive on, for he suspected their pursuers had evil intentions. Finding his coach driven at such an increased speed, his grace looked out to see what was the cause. Russell was by this time so near, as to see and recognise the archbishop; and he immediately fired, and called to the rest to come up. The primate urged the coachman to drive on, and he kept on for half a mile before they overtook it. On this, the archbishop, turning to his daughter, exclaimed, "LORD have mercy upon me." "My poor child, I am gone!" During the pursuit, the murderers fired several shots without any effect. Henderson was best mounted, and got a-head of the postillion, wounded him in the face, and cut his horse's hams; by which means, the coach was stopped, and the conspirators came up. They then fired into the coach, and wounded his grace two

inches below the right clavicle or collar-bone, the ball entering betwixt the second and third ribs. This pistol was fired so close to his body that the wadding burnt his gown, and was rubbed off by Miss Sharp. This shot, which alone would have caused his death, was fired by George Fleman, who saw his daughter rub off the wadding. Fleman then rode forward, and seized the horses' bridles on the near side, and held them till George Balfour had fired into the coach. James Russell alighted, and taking Fleman's sword, opened the coach-door, and desired "Judas" to come forth, calling him "dog, betrayer of the *godly*! persecutor of Christ's church, &c." The account published by the privy council, says, that one wounded him with a small sword in the region of the kidneys. Russell, when he opened the coach-door, furiously desired him to come forth, for the blood he had shed was crying to heaven for vengeance on him, and thrust his shabel or hanger at him. It was Russell, therefore, that wounded him with the sword. According to his own account, he could not resist the temptation of making a speech; he "declared before the LORD, that it was no particular interest, nor yet for any wrong that he had done to him, but because he had betrayed the church as Judas, and had wrung his hands these eighteen or nineteen years in the blood of the saints, but

especially at Pentland, and Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Mitchel, and James Learmonth; and *they were sent by God to execute his vengeance* on him this day, and desired him to repent and come forth." * John Balfour, who was still on horseback, also commanded him to come forth, and fired his pistol; James Russell desired him again to come forth "and make him for death, judgment, and eternity." † They called to him to "come out, cruel bloody traitor," to which he answered, that he never wronged any man, and added, "Gentlemen, you will spare my life, and whatever else you will please to do, you shall never be questioned for it." They told him there was no mercy for a Judas, an enemy and traitor to the cause of Christ. Balfour again ordered him to come out of the coach. Upon this, Miss Sharp sprung out, and falling on her knees, with tears and prayers, begged her father's life. This tender appeal had no effect on the fanatical enthusiasts; they threw her down, trampled on her, and wounded her. Seeing the brutal treatment of his daughter, the archbishop came composedly out of the coach, and calmly told them, "he did not know that he had ever injured any of them, if he had, he was ready to make reparation; beseeching them to spare his life, and he

* Russell's Account, p. 417.

† Ibid. p. 417.

would never trouble them for that violence ; but prayed them to consider, before they brought the guilt of innocent blood upon themselves."

"The reverence of his person, and his composed carriage, surprised and awed the villains, and one of them relenting, cried, *Spare those grey hairs*, but their hot zeal consuming their natural pity replied — ' He must die, he must die,' calling him, ' traitorous villain, Judas, enemy to God and *his people* (!) and telling him, he must now receive the reward of his apostacy, and enmity to the people of God.' " * He now said, " Well, then, I shall expect no mercy from you ; but promise me to spare my poor child."

Russell says, that the primate said to John Balfour, " I will come to you, for I know you are a gentleman and will save my life ; but I am gone already, and what needs more ? " By this time his grace felt the pain of his wounds increasing, and that death would ensue even though the blood-thirsty murderers had done no more. The privy council's account says, that he directed his speech to spare his daughter's life to one whom it is supposed that he recognised as he looked him full in the face. Reaching out his hand to him, the bloody villain started back, and by a mighty blow cut him more than half through

* Fanatical Moderation, Second Letter, p. 65.

the wrist. Russell says it was Henderson who cut his wrist. The villainous accounts given by Wodrow and Dr. Burns say, the archbishop could not be prevailed on to pray; and that there was no sign of contrition in him. This was rather an awful moment for the calm exercise of prayer; notwithstanding, such was the composure of this good man in his present peril, that he did pray, and that for his murderers too. The falsehood of saying he refused to pray was fabricated for the purpose of blackening his character, and keeping up the delusion in the public mind, that he was familiar with the devil, and practised necromancy. But so far was he from refusing to pray, as they falsely and maliciously allege, that seeing all hope of softening the barbarians vain, he requested a short space for prayer. But this the assassins *refused*, exclaiming—"God *would not hear the prayers of such a dog.*" "I hope," says he, "ye will give me some time to pour out my soul to God, and I shall pray for you; and presently falling on his knees, he said, LORD *forgive them for I do: LORD JESUS receive my spirit.*" *

While thus engaged in prayer, one of the traitors who was some paces off, called to the rest to "spare those gray hairs." This was

* Account by the Privy Council.

Haxton of Rathillet, who never dismounted, but when the others threw away their cloaks, wrapt his round the lower part of his face. By Wodrow's account, it is said that the dying martyr addressed to him the words, "Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me." He represents Rathillet as answering, "Sir, I shall never lay a hand on you," * and then rode a little way off, for all this time he did not alight. By Russell's account, however, which agrees more closely with that of the privy council, this personal appeal, as if to a gentleman, was addressed to Balfour of Burley, who had formerly been his chamberlain, and whom he recognised. While his hands were lifted up to heaven in the attitude of prayer for himself and his murderers, they cut at him furiously on the hands. Balfour gave him one tremendous cut above the left eye, on which his grace exclaimed, "*Now you have done the turn.*" He then fell forward, and his head rested on one of his arms, as if he had been to compose himself for sleep. The murderers then cut and hacked the back of his head, as he lay extended on the ground, and gave him sixteen wounds on the head, till they gashed it into one hole. "In effect, the whole occipital part was but one wound." Some of them, to make sure

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 44.

work, stirred his brains in his skull with the points of their swords.

In the acting of this dreadful tragedy, Miss Sharp was held fast by Andrew Guillon, from whom she struggled hard to escape. She screamed, and said, "This is murder." To whom Guillon replied, "It is not murder, but God's vengeance on him for murdering many poor souls in the kirk of Scotland." In her efforts to save her father, she was severely wounded in the thigh, while she threw herself between the murderers and her father; but by whom it is not said. Likewise one of the assassins wounded her in one of her thumbs with his sword, while she was clinging to his bridle-rein, vainly beseeching him to spare her father's life. After this, they rifled his grace's pockets, in which they found some papers. They then robbed the coach, in which they found a dressing-case belonging to Miss Sharp, containing some gold and other articles. They carried off his grace's night-bag, bible, girdle, and some important papers. They disarmed and robbed his servants, one of whom named Wallace, offered to make resistance, but he was severely wounded in the face by Russell, and his pockets rifled by the pious and godly executors of God's vengeance. There was no money found on the archbishop nor in the coach, save what they stole from Miss Sharp. It is

singular that the eulogists of this parricide are indignant at being accused of robbery. This is indeed straining at gnats and swallowing camels.

“Thus fell,” says the account published by authority of the privy council, “that excellent prelate, (whose character and worthy acts deserve, and no doubt will find some excellent pen,) by the hands of nine fanatic ruffians. That they were so is not to be doubted, their names being all now known, and all of them denounced or intercommuned, for frequenting field-conventicles, and the known champions of that party in the shire of Fife. Besides, their bloody sanctified discourse at the time of their bloody actings, shews what temper and spirit they were of. I have done with my relation (attested to me before famous witnesses, by my lord’s daughter, and those of his servants that were so unfortunate as to be spectators of this execrable villainy) when I have observed, how ridiculous the author of the pretended true one is, when he endeavours to discover the occasion of that murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; for what need was there of anything more to provoke them, than his being an archbishop, and the primate of Scotland; and the most active as well as the most reverend father of this church? Was it not for this reason that he was, on the streets of Edin-

burgh, shot at by Mr. James Mitchel, while in his own coach? Was not this the reason that these fanatical books from Holland, both some time ago, and of late, marked out his '*sacrum caput*,' as they term it, and devoted him to a cruel death, and gave out predictions that he should die so? which they easily might, being so active in stimulating and prompting instruments to fulfil their own prophecies. 'O Lord, how unsearchable are thy judgments, and thy ways past finding out!'" *

The following is an attested copy of a letter written by J. Cargill to his brother Donald, one of the most fanatical and violent of the Presbyterian ministers. The original was intercepted, and sent with other papers to the Duke of Lauderdale at London, to be communicated to the king. From which it would appear, that there had been a regular conspiracy to murder several others, as well as the archbishop, as a prelude to rising in rebellion. The conspirators were so full of their hellish project, that they scarcely made any secret of their intentions.

* Narrative of the manner of the execrable murder of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, published by authority of the privy council, in folio, in the Advocate's Library, and likewise attached to the True and Impartial Account, pp. 140—144.

“Dearly beloved Brother,—I am glad to hear of your welfare, and that you continue in the faith, which I wish you may retain, and persevere in to the end. You shall know that our forces daily encrease, and are now surmounted to the number of 10,000, and there are daily adding to the number of those who shall be saved. I hope you have heard of the dreadful death of the old fox, who was clothed with the sheep’s skin, and countenanced with the king’s authority. *The same was intended for others also*, but it seems God hath not altogether forsaken them, and given them over to themselves; but it may be supposed that they are referred to a greater judgement, which God in his own appointed time will cause fall upon them, and send deliverance to his people, which shall be the daily prayers of him who greets you in the Lord. I am informed that the king is sending down 5,000 English, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, to assist the prelatical party, and to suppress *the godly*: but God knows how to deliver *the just* from the hand of their enemies. But I hope within a few months we shall see an end of thir things; and then shall the righteous flourish like a palm-tree, which shall be the evening, morning, and mid-day prayers of your beloved brother in the Lord.

“3d May, 1679.”

“J. C.”

“Directed to Mr. D——C——l, minister of the gospel at Glasgow. With care deliver these.”

“Edinburgh, 10th May, 1679.—*Hæc est vera copia epistolæ suprascriptæ, cujus principalis est ad ducem Lauderdaleiæ transmissa.*

(Signed) “Jo. Edinburgen, &c.
And. Sodoren.
Arth. Lismoren.”

Immediately on the rumour of the archbishop’s murder reaching the capital, the privy council

assembled, and addressed the letter below to his majesty, acquainting him with the sacrilegious deed.

“ May it please your Grace,—The Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of this your majesty’s ancient kingdom, one of your majesty’s privy council, having been yesterday assassinated upon your majesty’s highway, at noon-tide, by ten or eleven fanatick ruffians, bare and open faced, by so many wounds as left one of many instances of their unparalleled cruelty, most of his wounds having been given after he was visibly dead. We could not but acquaint your sacred majesty by this express, by which your majesty may easily consider whether we have been *needlessly* jealous of the cruelty of that sect, that is by our enemies said to be so unnecessarily persecuted by us : and by which, and the *many* late murders committed upon your soldiers, and others, for doing your service, your majesty may, and we may certainly conclude these of that profession will be insatiable, till by crimes and cruelties they do all that in them lies to force your majesty from your royal government ; this being the natural product not of their humours, but of their *principles*, out of which these flames will undoubtedly at last arise, that will consume even those who accuse the necessary zeal of your servants, as illegal, oppressing of tender consciences, *albeit we never straitened the liberty of any religion save that which dissolved the principles of human society*, and unhinged your majesty’s royal government ; nor can we omit upon this occasion to inform your majesty, that this assassination has been revived by a paper lately spread here, whereby the just execution of Mr. James Mitchel, who died for attempting formerly the same crime, is charged upon your ministers and judges as als illegal a murder as that which he designed to commit, though he died inveighing to the greatest height of

bitterness against your majesty in his last speech. And therefore we humbly beg that your majesty would enquire into the authors, spreaders, and abettors of that villainous and treacherous paper, and would send them (if of this kingdom) hither to be judged here, or (if subjects of your majesty's other kingdoms) that your majesty may, for the security of your own crown, and the just vindication of your judicatures, and the encouragement of others to serve you, require your respective judges to bring them to condign punishment, as we would do to such as defame their judicatures amongst us. The proclamation herewith sent will inform your majesty of the utmost endeavours that we could use upon this dreadful occasion. And we hope that your majesty, who takes such effectual means to punish the murder of one of the meanest servants of your laws in England, will use all endeavours to punish the murderers of one of your majesty's chief ministers here, whose affection to your royal interest has occasioned his being brought to this fatal period.

“ Your majesty's most humble, faithful, and
most obedient subjects and servants,

“ *Subscribitur ut sederunt.* Chancellor, Glasgow,
Douglass, Montrose, Mar, Glencairn, Moray,
Wigton, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Elphinston,
President of Session, Depute Register, Advocate,
Colington, General Dalzell, Abbots-hall, Rossie,
Mr. Maitland, Lundy, Tarbit.”

The council's letter to the king was enclosed in one to the Duke of Lauderdale, of the same date :—

“ May it please your Grace,—Upon notice of the horrid assassination committed yesterday, upon the person of the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, the council being frequently met

this day, have by a letter acquainted his majesty therewith, and sent a copy of the proclamation past on this occasion to your grace, with a copy of the depositions of the lord archbishop's servants taken by the council, to be offered to his majesty. In time of the sitting of council now at seven hours at night, the justice-general and laird of Lundy, having returned from Fife, gave us a new account of that bloody tragedy, and that some of the forces have overtaken two suspect persons, who having resisted, one of them was shot in the back, and taken prisoner, who is found to be young Inchdairney, and it is thought will die in his wounds. And another, Henry Shaw, in Kirkaldy, an intercommuned person, who was also then taken. The council has appointed their next meeting to-morrow in the forenoon. The enclosed (already given) copy of a declaration was dropt in Cupar, some few days before the murder.

“ Signed as above.”

“ Edinburgh, 4th May, 1679.”

In reply to their letter the king wrote the following answer altogether with his own hand :—

“ CHARLES R.

“ Right trusty, &c. we greet you well.—It was with no less abhorrence than surprisal, that in your letter of the 4th instant, (in a flying packet,) we received an account of that cruel and barbarous murder committed the day before, by ten fanatic ruffians, upon the person of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, within two miles of that place ; an action attended with so many circumstances of inhumanity and barbarity as that, were it not certified unto us from so good hands, we could not have believed, that in any nation civilized (much less where Christianity is professed) there could have been such a hellish design contrived, much less put in execution : a villainy so abominable to us (and must

certainly be so to all good men) that were committed but upon the meanest of our subjects, in place of the metropolitan of that our ancient kingdom, and one of our privy council, we could not but resent it with the most severe effects of our displeasure and abhorrence; and therefore we cannot but highly commend (and return you our hearty thanks for) your great care and forwardness (even upon the first notice of that horrid fact) to take the most effectual course, for discovering and apprehending those barbarous assassins, in order to their exemplary punishment, and the terror of others of the same bloody and hellish principles, from ever daring to attempt such a villainy hereafter: and particularly the proclamation you have published upon that occasion, with which we were so well pleased, that we did immediately order it to be printed here. We have also seen the deposition of the witnesses, and the copy of that scandalous and seditious paper that was dropt in the town of Cupar. By which last we perceive that (in all appearance) the design of that horrid murder was laid some time before, by a more considerable number of men than the assassins were; and therefore we do in a particular manner recommend to you to make all the enquiry and search that is possible, for all persons that you have reason to suspect any manner of way guilty of contriving, consulting, abetting, or furthering that horrid villainy. For we do look upon them as no less guilty thereof, than the wretches that assumed the boldness and impiety to shed that innocent blood, and that to so high a degree of cruelty and barbarity, as can hardly be paralleled in any nation; which we do so much abominate, as we cannot but again earnestly desire you to take the most effectual courses (consistent with law) for punishing (to the utmost severity) all such as shall be found guilty of, or accessory to that horrid and execrable crime; for doing whereof, this shall be to you and all others that may be therein concerned, a full warrant. By a former

letter we sent for some of your number to come hither, and after we have spoke with them, you shall find that we are fully resolved to maintain and assert the authority exercised by you ; and that we will not cease to afford you our countenance and protection, in the faithful discharge of that great trust we have committed to you ; and so we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th day of May, 1679, and of our reign the 31st year.

“ By his majesty’s command,

(Signed) “ Lauderdale.”

The proclamation, to which allusion is made in the king’s letter, is added below.

“ CHARLES, &c.

“ To our lyon king-at-arms, &c. greeting.—We being fully and by legal proofs assured of the late horrid and bloody murder committed upon Saturday last, being the 3d day of May instant, by ten or eleven fanatic assassins, upon the person of the most reverend father in God, James, late Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of all Scotland : which barbarous and inhuman assassination and parricide will (we doubt not) spread horror and amazement in all the hearts of such as believe that there is a God, or a Christian religion ; a cruelty exceeding the barbarity of pagans and heathens, amongst whom the officers and ministers of religion are reputed to be sacred, and are by the respect borne to the deity which they adore, secured against all such bloody and execrable attempts ; a cruelty exceeding the belief of all true Protestants, whose churches have justly stigmatised with the marks of impiety, all such as defile with blood those hands which they ought to hold up to heaven ; and a cruelty equal to any with which we can reproach the enemies

of this true and reformed church, by which also not only the principles of human society, but our authority and government, (the said archbishop being one of our privy council,) is highly violated, and example and encouragement given for murdering all such as serve us faithfully, according to the prescript of our laws and royal commands, daily instances whereof we are to expect, whilst *field-conventicles, those rendezvouses of rebellion, and forges of all bloody and JESUITICAL principles*, are so frequented and followed, to the scandal of all government, and the contempt of our laws: and which murder is, as far as is possible, rendered yet more detestable, by the unmasked boldness of such as durst openly, with bare faces, in the midst of our kingdom at mid-day, assemble themselves together to kill, in our highway, the primate of our kingdom, and one of our privy council, by so many strokes and shots, as left his body as it were but one wound; and many of which being given after they knew he was dead, were remarkable proofs they were actuated by a spirit of hellish and insatiable cruelty. We have, therefore, with advice of our privy council, thought fit hereby to command and charge all sheriffs, &c. to search, seek, take and apprehend the persons guilty of the said horrid murder, or any suspect by them, and to imprison them, until they be brought to justice; and all our good and faithful subjects to concur in the taking and securing, as far as is in their power, these assassins. And in respect, there is a company of vagrant and skulking ruffians, who, to the great contempt of all government, do ride thorow this our kingdom, killing our soldiers, deforcing such as put our laws in execution, and committing such horrible murders, who might be easily discovered, if all such amongst whom they converse, did, according to their duty, endeavour to apprehend them, or give notice where they haunt or resort: we have, therefore, thought fit conform to the 144th Act Par. 12 K. James VI.,

to command and charge all our subjects, that whensoever any unknown men or vagabonds shall repair amongst them, that they, with all possible speed, certify any of our privy council, officers of our forces, or any having trust under us thereof; with certification to them, that if they omit the same, they shall be punished with all rigour conform to the said act. And since several of the said assassins are known to have been tenants in the shire of Fife, whose faces will be known to such of the witnesses as were present; we hereby require and command all the heritors and masters of the said shire of Fife and Kinross, to bring their tenants, cottars and servants, and others dwelling in their lands, to the respective towns at the diets after-mentioned, viz. those within the Presbytery of St. Andrews, to the town of St. Andrews, upon the 13th day of May instant; those within the presbytery of Cupar to the town of Cupar, upon the 16th day of the said month; those within the presbytery of Kirkaldy, to the town of Kirkaldy, upon the 20th day of the said month; and those within the presbytery of Dumfermline, to the town of Dumfermline, upon the 23d of the said month, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, upon each one of the said days, there to continue and abide till they be examined by the sheriff deputes of the said shire, who are hereby commissioned to that effect, and to be seen by the said witnesses; with certification to such of the said tenants, cottars, servants, and others aforesaid, as shall be absent, they shall be reputed as accessory to the said crime; and the masters, if they produce them not, or if hereafter they harbour any that shall not compear, they shall be reputed favourers of the said assassination. And whereas, there are some persons under caption or intercommuning in the said shire, for several causes; and lest persons who are innocent of that horrid crime may be thereby debarred from appearing and vindicating themselves, we have thought fit hereby to sist and supersede all execution upon any letters of caption, or inter-

communing, or any other warrant for securing of any persons for any cause, for the space of forty-eight hours before and after the said diets of appearance, that they may safely come and go, without any trouble or impediment whatsoever: and to the end the said cruel murder may be the more easily discovered, we do hereby offer and give full assurance of our indemnity, to any one of the said assassins, who shall discover his accomplices, and such as hounded them out, and of present payment the sum of ten thousand merks, to any who shall inform who were the said assassins, if upon his information, they or either of them can be apprehended, that they may be brought to condign punishment: and ordains these presents to be printed and published, at the market-crosses of all the royal burghs in the shires of Fife and Kinross, and to be read at all the parish kirks of the said shires and jurisdictions within the same, upon Sunday next, being the eleventh of this instant, immediately after the ordinary time of divine service in the forenoon, that the same may come to the knowledge of all persons concerned.

“ Given under our signet at Edinburgh, the fourth day of May, 1679, and of our reign the thirty-one year.

“ Alexander Gibson, *Cl. Sti. Concilii.*”

It is something suspicious that Wodrow cites none of the preceding documents, except the proclamation, although he deals so largely in the council-registers, that his book is almost entirely made up of such public papers. Although he *pretends* not to approve of the murder of the archbishop, yet he “ relates all its circumstances with the most fraternal sympathy and apologetic tenderness, like a genuine disciple of John

Knox.”* This just though severe remark, appears to have offended Dr. Burns, and roused his sympathy. “It is true,” the doctor says, “he does not deal in the harsh invective of the high cavalier party on such an occasion, and he would *be far from maintaining* that the prelate did not, in point of fact, *deserve* to die. But he does not defend the *manner* of the deed, and much less the dangerous principles which led to it. He takes just that view of it which every *moderate and fair man*, on a proper knowledge of the dreadful state of the country at the time, and the agency of Sharp in the persecutions, will be inclined to take: I acknowledge he is wrong, in stating that no party of Presbyterians in Scotland, at the time, approved of the deed. The author of the ‘Hind let Loose,’ p. 635, vindicates it on the plea of necessity, and speaks of all such ‘attempts for cutting off such monsters’ as ‘*lawful* and (as one would think,) *laudable*, in the circumstances of the country at the time.’”† It is a pity that the learned doctor did not cite the whole passage, when he had the “Hind let Loose” before him. The author, Shiels, spoke the known sentiments of all his communion at the time, and which is so deeply rooted, that even to this day

* Note to Russell's Account, by K. Sharp, Esq., p. 407.

† Burn's Notes to Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 49.

the archbishop's murder is reckoned an act of justice :—

“Nevertheless,” says Shiels, such *lawful*, (and as one would think,) *laudable* attempts for cutting off such monsters of nature, beasts of prey, burthens to the earth, as well as enemies to the commonwealth, are not only condemned as murders and horrid assassinations, but criminally punished as such; and upon this account, the sufferings of such, as have left a conviction upon the consciences of all that knew them, of their honesty, integrity, soundness in the principles, and seriousness in the practice of religion, have been several, singular, and signally severe, and owned of the LORD, to the admiration of all spectators; some being cruelly tortured and executed to the death for *essaying such execution of judgment, as Mr. Mitchel*; others for *accomplishing it, as Mr. Hackston, of Rathillet*, and others, who avowed their accession to the cutting off that arch-traitor, Sharp, prelate of St. Andrews, and others, for not condemning *that act of justice*, though they were as innocent of the fact as the child unborn.”—“However this may be exploded by this generation as *odious* and uncouth doctrine, yet in former periods of this church, it hath been *maintained with courage, and asserted* with confidence. How the ancient Scots, even after they received the Christian faith, served their tyrants and oppressors—how in the beginning of the Reformation, the killing of the Cardinal (Beaton,) and of David Rizzio *were and are generally to this day justified.*” *

These were the sentiments of “every moderate and fair man” among the fanatical party at the time, who “could not but observe and adore the

* Hind let Loose, pp. 635—638.

holy and righteous providence of God, in the removal of this violent persecutor, and spring of the most part of the former severities."*

There were twenty-seven men engaged in this execrable conspiracy, who divided into three parties, there being as many roads, by which the archbishop might have travelled, and each party took their position on a different road, so determined were they to commit this execrable murder. All the three rendezvoused the afternoon of that memorable day, after the murder, at a place called the Tewchits: here the whole party went to prayer, first together, and afterwards individually, "with great composure of spirit, and enlargement of heart more nor (than) ordinary, blessing the Lord, who had called them out, and carried them so courageously through so great a work, and *led them by his Holy Spirit* in every step that they stepped in that matter, and prayed that, seeing he had been pleased to honour them *to act for him*, and to *execute his justice upon that wretch*, (whom all who loved the welfare of Zion ought to have striven who might have had their hand first on him,) might let it be known, by keeping them out of the enemy's hands, and straight in his way; that they did nothing out of any self-prejudice nor self-interest, but only *all*

* Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 48.

they were commanded of God; and as now he had been pleased to lead and guide them by his Spirit, and made them act valiantly as soldiers of Jesus Christ, not being ashamed of what they had done, but desiring to glorify God for it, and was willing, if he should be pleased to see it for his glory, they were willing to seal the truth of it with their blood, through his grace and strength enabling them, who would send none a warfare on their own charges.”* It is shocking to think what a “strong delusion” possessed the minds of these murderers, and not only them, but the minds of the whole party ever since. These men truly verified our blessed Lord’s prophetic words, “Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever *killeth* you,” (and their successors,) “will *think that he doth* God service.” The reason which Christ assigned for so treating the apostles, is fully as applicable to those who killed their successor as to them—“*because they have NOT KNOWN the Father nor me.*” St. John, xvi. 2, 3. Had they known the Father, or been guided by the gospel of his Son, they would have obeyed those who were set in authority over them, and held such in estimation,—they would have obeyed every ordinance of man for Christ’s sake, and would have known that the prayers of un-

* Russell’s Account, p. 422.

repentant murderers, and of men swollen with spiritual pride, are an abomination to the LORD.

Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharp has published a letter from Sir William Sharp, the archbishop's son, to Sir James Baird at Banff, in which he gives an account of his father's barbarous murder, of which the following is a copy :—

“Honoured Sir,—This horrid and stupendous murder has so confounded me, that I am not able to give a suitable return to your excellent and kind letter. What I have learnt of that execrable deed is, that on Friday, the 2d of this instant month, my worthy father crossed the water, lay at Kennoway all night, next morning set out for St. Andrews. Being two miles off, twenty-seven of those villainous regicides had a full view of the coach, and not finding the opportunity, divided into three parties, which took up the three ways he could take homewards. Nine of them assaulted the coach within two miles of this place, by discharging their pistols and securing his servants. The coachman drove on for half a mile, until one of his horses was wounded in three places, and the postilion wounded in the hand. Then they fired several shot at the coach, and commanded my dearest father to come out, which he said he would. When he had come out, (not being yet wounded,) he said, “Gentlemen, I beg my life.” “No ! bloody villain, betrayer of the cause of Christ, no mercy !” Then said he, “I ask none for myself, but have mercy on my poor child,” (his eldest daughter was in the coach with him,) and holding out his hand to one of them, to get his, that he would spare his child, he cut him in the wrist. Then falling down upon his knees, and holding up his hands, he prayed that God would forgive them ; and begging mercy for his sins from his Saviour, they murdered him, by sixteen great

wounds in his back, head, and one above his left eye, three in his left hand, when he was holding them up, with a shot above his right breast, which was found to be powder. After this damnable deed, they took the papers out of his pocket, robbed my sister and their servants of all their papers, gold, and money; and one of these hellish rascals cut my sister in the thumb, when she had him by the bridle, begging her father's life. God of his infinite mercy support this poor family, under this dreadful and insupportable case, and give us to know why God is thus angry with us, and earnestly beg not to consume us in his wrath, but now that his anger may cease, and he may be at peace with us, through the blood of a reconciled Saviour; and also may have pity on this poor distressed church, and that he may be the last sacrifice for it, as he is the first Protestant martyr bishop in such a way.

"Dear Sir, as my worthy father had always a kindness and particular esteem for yourself, son, and family, so I hope you will be friendly to his son, who shall ever continue,

"Worthy sir,

"Your most faithful, &c.

"W. Sharp."

"St. Andrews, 10th May, 1679,
Half-hour after receipt of yours."

"On Saturday next is the funeral."

The privy council sent Dr. Patillo and three surgeons to St. Andrews, to examine and embalm the body of the archbishop. They declared that his constitution appeared vigorous, and perfectly sound, indicating the appearance of long life. The following is a copy of their official report to the privy council.

"We, under subscribers, being called to visit the corpse of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, do find that he had

received a wound by a sword over the left eye, extending two inches above, and one below, making a great suffusion of blood upon the cheek, and upper and lower eye-lid. Next we found many wounds upon the posterior part of his head, insomuch, that the whole occipital bone was shattered all in pieces, and a part of the brain lost thereby upon the place, which certainly being so great, could not but occasion his present death. There were only two wounds to be seen upon the body; the first, two or three inches below the right clavicle, betwixt the second and third rib, which was given by a shot, not reaching the capacity of the breast. The next was a small wound upon the region of the kidneys, given by a small sword. Likewise, we found three wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved mortal, though he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand, as dangerous as the former; as witness our hands at St. Andrews, the 5th day of May, 1679.

“George Pitillo, M. D.

William Borthwick, *Chirurgeon*.

Henry Spence, *Chirurgeon*.

James Pringle, *Chirurgeon*.”

As this great and good man fell a martyr to the detestable principles engendered by the Solemn League and Covenant, and by the bloody hands of its votaries, the privy council determined to honour his remains with a public funeral. It was performed with the utmost magnificence, agreeable to a programme issued by the government, the original of which is in the “Episcopal Chest,” at Aberdeen. The order directs, that the prebends and clergy of the metropolitical church shall meet the body in their robes, in good order, at the door of the

church. The respectable inhabitants were directed to be drawn up in two lines, betwixt the abbey and the place of interment, for keeping off the crowd, so that the procession might pass through a lane betwixt two files, without interruption or disorder. The privy council appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow to act as chief mourner, assisted by the other bishops in deep mourning. The privy council were to walk in a body, and the macers of court were to walk bare-headed, as a guard to the honours of purse and mace. *

The procession as marshalled by order of the privy council, proceeded in the following order:—

Sixty-one old men, corresponding to the years of the defunct's age, each in mourning-hoods and cloaks, and bearing on staves the arms of the archiepiscopal see, impaled with those of the defunct, one preceding and bearing a little gumphion, † the rest following two and two.

The Horse of State,
equipped in furniture, as for the riding of parliament,
led by footmen in the defunct's livery;
Two close trumpets, with mourning banners;
A horse in mourning, led by footmen in mourning;
The Great Gumphion borne on a lance;

* MSS. Epis. Chest, No. A. 20.

† I cannot discover what a "gumphion" is. Such antiquaries and heralds as I have consulted, are equally at a loss; but it is imagined to be a banner hanging straight down, in the manner seen on the stage, with arms, &c. of the deceased, and the insignia of mourning.

The great mourning pencil, borne
by Sir John Strachan ;
The defunct's servants, and those of the nobility
and gentry in mourning ;
The magistrates of St. Andrews ;
The magistrates of the other royal burghs ;
The magistrates of Edinburgh ;
Professors of the University of St. Andrews ;
Clergymen of the diocese ;
Doctors and other dignitaries in the church ;
The rector of the university, ushered by his three maces ;
Gentlemen and knights, two and two ;
The lords of session,
ushered by their four ordinary macers ;
The nobility according to their rank, two and two ;
Two close trumpets ;
A mourning standard, borne by Sharp of Houston ;
Four coats-of-arms, two paternal, and two maternal, borne
each after the other ;
The great mourning banner, borne
by Cunningham of Barnes ;
His grace's physician, secretary, and chaplain ;
Six pursuivants in their coats,
two and two ;
Six heralds in their coats,
two and two ;
The first bearing, on an antique shield, the arms of the see,
and of the defunct, impaled ; the second, that of the
see ; the third, the crosier ; the fourth, the
scarf ; the fifth, the gown ;
the sixth and eldest, the mitre on a velvet cushion ;
The lord-lyon, king-at-arms in his coat ;
The lord high-chancellor,
preceded by the purse and great mace ;

Macer of Privy Council.	<p>THE COFFIN, adorned with scutcheons of the defunct's arms, impaled with those of the See, and with a mitre placed on a velvet cushion, fringed and tasseled with gold, and covered with crape; Chief mourners, Sir William Sharp of Scot's Craig, the deceased's only son, and Sir William Sharp of Stoneyhill, the deceased's brother. Over the coffin a canopy, adorned with a mitre, with small escutcheons, mort-heads and cyphers, borne by six Moderators of Presbyteries. The Archbishop of Glasgow, and all the bishops of Scotland ; The bloody gown in which his grace was slain, borne by the chaplain of his household ; The coach out of which he was taken and murdered, with the coachman, horses, and postillion, all in deep mourning. A troop of horse-guards.</p>	Macer of Privy Council.
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“ The church was all in mourning ; the pulpit, and before it a table covered with black velvet, on which the coffin was placed. The funeral sermon was preached by John, Bishop of Edinburgh. The body was laid in the grave with the sound of open trumpets. Over the grave a canopy was erected, covered with black cloth, and adorned with the Gumphion, standards, banners, &c., which had been carried in the procession.”

The remains of Archbishop Sharp were deposited in the south aisle of the High-church of St. Andrews, where his son erected a handsome monument of white marble, representing the martyrdom. He at the same time settled a small sum

to be paid annually for keeping it in repair, and the overplus to be given to the poor of the city of St. Andrews. Nearly the whole of this sum "was expended in a foolish attempt to *paint* and *gild* the figures on the monument, and the rest of it in effacing what had been badly executed." "The monument is included in the modern church, which was built on the site of the former one, and is an object of great interest to strangers." And "not anticipating the overthrow of an established Episcopacy, the archbishop presented to the parish church of St. Andrews, a few years before his death, a massy silver baptismal basin and cup, which are still used in that church on all occasions of public baptism."* It weighs 64 oz. 5 dwts.; also a massy silver communion-cup, weighing 37 oz. 12 dwts. The following inscription is on each: "*In usum ecclesiæ parochialis Sti. Andreæ donavit Jacobus ejusdem archiepiscopus, anno 1675.*"

On the monument there is the following inscription, by his familiar and intimate friend Dr. Andrew Bruce, then Bishop of Dunkeld, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney:—

* Rev. C. J. Lyons' History of St. Andrews, note, pp. 131, 134.

SACRATISSIMI ANTISTITIS, PRUDENTISSIMI SENATORIS,
SANCTISSIMI MARTYRIS.

Cineres pretiosissimos
Sublime hoc tegit Mausolæum.

Hic namque jacet
Quod sub sole reliquum est,
Reverendissimi in Christo Patris, Domini

JACOBI SHARPII,
Sti Andreæ Archiepiscopi,
totius Scotiæ Primatis, &c.

Quem

Philosophiæ et Theologiæ Professore, Academia;
Presbyterum, Doctorem, Præsulem, Ecclesia;
Tum Ecclesiastici, tum Civilis status Ministrum primarium,
Scotia;

Serenissimi Caroli Secundi, Monarchicque imperii
restitutionis suasorem, Britannia;
Episcopalis ordinis in Scotia instauratorem, Christianus orbis;
Pietatis exemplum, pacis Angelum, sapientiæ oraculum,
gravitatis imaginem, boni et fideles
Subditi;

Impietatis, perduellionis et schismatis hostem acerrimum
Dei, Regis et gregis Inimici,
Viderunt, agnoverunt, admirabantur.

Quemque,

Talis et tantus cum esset,
Novem conjurati parricidæ,
Fanatico furore perciti,
In Metropoliticæ suæ civitatis vicino,
Lucente meridiano Sole,
Carissima filia primogenita
et domesticis famulis

Vulneratis, lacrymantibus, reclamantibus,
Ingenua, ut pro ipsis etiam oraret, prolapsam,

Viginti duobus vulneribus confossum,
Sclopetis, gladiis pugionibus,
Horrendum in modum
Trucidarunt,
III Maii. MDCLXXIX.*

In stature the primate was of the middle size, with broad shoulders, a full chest, and strong limbs and arms, but not any tendency to obesity. When his body was opened the surgeons declared that he had every appearance of a strong and vigorous constitution, and no symptom of unsoundness or decay. He had a fine capacious forehead; his eyes a little sunken, but full of vivacity. He had a cheerful gravity of countenance, and a noble presence that commanded both respect and awe. His address was excellent, and he had great tact in suiting it to the rank or condition of the party with whom he conversed. He was extremely temperate, and none of his greatest enemies have ever thrown out the slightest hint of any failing in that virtue, which considering their malice, and the system of enormous lying to which they were addicted, they would not have failed, had there been the slightest tendency to that vice in their victim.

In point of charity he was far beyond the age

* True and Impartial Account, p. 83 to 84.

in which he lived, and might have put his enemies to shame, whose utter want of that virtue which is the very bond of peace and of all godliness, was notorious. Although they had signed and kept and fulfilled all the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant; yea, if they had given their bodies to be burned, yet being deficient of that heavenly virtue, which is superior to faith and hope, they were merely as tinkling brass and sounding cymbals—good for nothing. The primate's usual sentiments of those who treated him with railing and malice and attempts at murder were, “Woe I am for these unhappy people, for they might live at ease, and have the protection of laws, and *differ as much from us as they will*. But alas! their crimes against *the state* are such, that no set of heretics, much less orthodox Christians, have attempted in any age of the church. Their punishments are the natural issues of *treason*, and their *blood lays on their own heads*. God *help the misled people who follow such teachers*.”

In almsgiving and supplying the wants of the poor and necessitous, his benevolence was extensive. In the practice of this virtue, simplicity, prudence, and self-denial were his regulating principles, and he avoided as much as possible all appearance of ostentation and vain-glory. His charity was so universal that his benevolence was

not confined to the household of faith, but was liberally extended to those who needed of the Covenanting sect. When he did discriminate, his bounty was bestowed on those who having seen better days, were unable to dig and ashamed to beg, and that too without the least respect of party. "I had it," says his biographer, "from a wise, aged, and reverend Presbyterian, who had the advantage of knowing him very well, that to his certain knowledge he hath caused to be distributed by his trustees, fifty crowns in a morning to the orphans and widows of the Presbyterian brethren, without their being acquainted from what hand it came. And it is now very well known, that a certain Presbyterian lady (whose father was the third and most eminent, except one that suffered after the Restoration)* was entrusted by him in dispensing no small sums of secret charity *to the most needful of that party* which differed so much from him. And his conduct in his family, and on other occasions to the poor, was suitable to discretion and the true laws of charity." †

He disapproved of pluralities, and considered residence within his diocese one of the indis-

* The daughter of Sir Archbald Johnston, of Warriston, to wit.

† True and Impartial Account, p. 78.

pensable duties of a bishop. He himself was never absent from his diocese, except when his public duties either to the church or state required. He preached regularly on every Sunday, and when his duties as a privy counsellor required his presence in Edinburgh he regularly preached there on all the anniversary fasts and festivals of the church, and other holidays. "For that part of the evangelical function he was happily qualified; for his sermons were methodical, grave, and persuasive, altogether free from enthusiastic flights and bitter invectives; which were then the most admired talents of those denominated *a gospel-gifted ministry*. That which made all ecclesiastical performances easy to the archbishop, was the great progress he had made from the days of his youth, in the study of the Greek and Latin fathers, the ancient liturgies, councils and canons of the church: neither was he a stranger to the learning of the schoolmen."

In his private and family devotions he was devout and regular, an instance of which we have already seen, as recorded by the prejudiced pen of Dr. M'Crie. For his private devotions, his closet was his first and last resort, morning and evening; and where he always devoted a considerable portion of his time to spiritual exercises.

When he was at St. Andrews, and the clergy visited him, they lived in his house, which "was

as it were a college" for them. When in health he always conducted the family devotions himself, but during his absence or ill-health his chaplain officiated morning and evening. He daily read the holy scriptures aloud to his family before dinner and supper, and, "by way of preparative and conclusion, he never failed to bring into conversation some excellent, useful, and agreeable remarks" in connexion with the subject which he had just read. After supper it was his usual custom to converse with his wife and children on moral and religious topics.

He was very favourable to the public use of the Book of Common Prayer; but was of opinion that the period had not then arrived when it could be generally introduced into the church in Scotland. It is evident however, from various incidental circumstances, that the Liturgy had been used by many congregations, especially in Edinburgh. And it was a general custom to read the scripture in most of the churches in the order in which it is appointed to be read in the Prayer-Book.

"In the most tender sense he was a true father of the church, and her great support. His great wisdom backed with great resolution made him dear to the clergy, and dreadful to their enemies. He was a firm friend, a great encourager of learning and learned men, a sure patron of societies, particularly of the city and university of St.



Andrews. He was a kind and affectionate husband, and happy in a virtuous wife; a tender and indulgent father, and blessed with dutiful and obedient children."

He married Helen, daughter of William Moncrief, esquire, of Randerston, at Randerston-house, in 1657, an ancient and respectable family; by whom he had a son, Sir William Sharp, of Scots Craig, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Charles Erskine, of Cambo, in the county of Fife, who at that time held the office of lyon king-at-arms; by whom he had a numerous family. 2. Isabel, who was in the coach with her father when he was barbarously murdered, and who was herself severely wounded by the assassins; she married John Cunningham, esquire, of Barns, in the county of Fife, and had issue. 3. Margaret, who married the honourable Lord Saltoun, and had issue.

In 1650 he was translated from Crail to Edinburgh, and in 1655 he was a member of a synod which met at Kirkcaldy, and which was broken in upon by a Major Davidson, and other English officers, and dispersed. In 1669 he purchased the estate of Strathtyrum, and afterwards Scots Craig, all in the county of Fife.

Mr. George Martine, of Claremont, who was commissary clerk of St. Andrews, and one of the primate's household, says of him, that " he was a

man of profound wisdom, great courage, wonderful zeal for God and his church, prudent in conduct, and indefatigably laborious. By an unusual sagacity, piety, sense of duty, foresight and providence, he revived and cherished the small remainder of loyalty that remained amongst the ministry of this church; and, for seven years, maintained the same in life and being, against all the invidious insinuations, and secret and open practices of the undermining party, till the happy change. And then he piously and dexterously contributed his effectual endeavours most successfully to the resettling of the Church of Scotland, in its ancient and primitive officers and government, maugre all the opposition which he met with from diverse parties and persuasions; and by God's blessing, and the king's favour on his labours, he effectuated that great work, as if he had been born thereunto, which, it is **thought**, hardly any other could have done. He got the highest and greatest ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom from King Charles II., after his restoration to the throne, *as a debt* to his great abilities, and *as a reward* to his merits and services, in labouring might and main to effect and compass the king's restoration; and he no sooner acquired this honour, but the enemies of *kings* and *bishops* in Scotland, *persecuted him* with slanders and invectives, and the streets swarmed

with libels against him, and all because of his endeavours to set up Episcopacy, which was *subverted* by the Solemn League, and the usurper Cromwell. Of this fabric he was the sole Atlas; upholding the same by his extraordinary prudence, watchfulness, courage, prayers and tears, against all its enemies, secret and avowed, in the state and in the church; disappointing their designs, and defeating their projects. Supported by his own innocency and duty, with the reverence, constancy, and magnanimity proper to himself and his character, (undervaluing all perils and dangers,) he encouraged some, and awed many into compliance; which eminent services to God, the king and the church, wrought and brought him to *a crown of martyrdom*: for these procured him the inveterate, irreconcilable *envy of the fanatic, turbulent party.*"

The same faithful servant wrote the following elegy on the murdered archbishop:—

IN MERITISSIMUM STI. ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUM.

3. } Maii trucidatum,
17. } 1679 tumultatum;

ELOGIUM ET ELEGIA.

Potius quam nesciant posteri,
Quis aut qualis vir hic situs sit,
Lapis e muro exclamabit,
Eique succinet lacunar.

HIC INHUMATUR,

Eximius et perillustis D. D. JACOBUS SHARPIUS,
 Septentrionalis Scotiæ alumnus ;
 Apud D. Leonardum Philosophiæ Professor ;
 Ecclesiæ Caraliensis Pastor,
 S. S. Theologiæ in Lyceo D. Mariæ Professor,
 Academiæ Rector, et Cancellarius,
 Sancti Andreæ Archipræsul et Protomysta,
 Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ et Ecclesiasticorum
 Metropolita, Primas, ac longe primus,
 Priscorum Pontificum, et avitorum Antistitum nulli
 secundus,
 Forsitan et multis antefereendus.

QUIPPE QUI

Consilio, nixu, et ausis felicibus,
 Regem exulem populo, et populum regi restituit,
 Utrique restituto fidelem operam navavit,
 Ruinas nostras reparavit,
 Rempublicam labefactatam redintegravit,
 Vulnera democratæ per monarchiam,
 Presbyterianismi per Episcopatum, unicus sanavit,
 Religionem prope obsoletam reformavit,
 Ecclesiam fædatam purgavit,
 Purgatam instauravit,
 Instauratam rexit, protexit ;
 Orthodoxos ministros fovendo,
 Regimen ecclesiasticum propugnando,
 Vinæ sepem integram conservando,
 Hipocrysi, fuco, et dolo obviam eundo,
 Novationes, et novaturientes fanaticismos debellando.
 Veræ igitur ecclesiæ, religionis primævæ, rectæque fidei
 Propugnaculum, assertor, vindex ad extremum spiritum.

IDCIRCO.

Inter operarios divinos Deo perquam gratus,
 Atque magnum ipsius erga ecclesiam curæ exemplum :
 Inter consiliarios, regi in primis intimus, certus et fidus.
 Gloriam quamvis nactus, neutiquam tamen captans :
 Ecclesiæ, patriæ, propter indefessos labores carus,
 Omnibus, præterquam a fædis sacrilegis,
 Et scelestis, sicariis, desideratus,
 A quibus passus est parricidium, martyrium.

QUORUM.

Livorem, immanitatem, rabiem.
 Feritatem, ictus, et vulnera,
 Patientia, caritate, præcibus,
 Pietate, æquanimirate,
 (Deo, regi, et ecclesiæ sacratus)
 Tulit, sprexit, fregit, et superavit.
 At plagis confossus, perfidorum, perditorum, manibus
 occubuit.
 A sole, cælo, quadriduo deploratus, omnibus sanctis in secula
 defendendus.
 Hinc migrans tiaram linquens, aureolam adeptus est.
 Ita parentat pristinus cliens
 Cujus nunc jubilum in gemitum,
 Et gaudium in planctum versum est.

In reviewing the public life of Archbishop Sharp, it appears to me, that he was a man more sinned against than sinning. His public and private virtues, his talents and abilities, his favour with the king, and his elevated position in both the church and state, procured him the *envy* of inferior and less successful men. The oft-

reiterated accusation, that he betrayed the Presbyterians, is evidently false, from the whole tenor of his correspondence with Douglass, and from the confidence that the presbytery of Edinburgh reposed in him, by voting him *public thanks*. The charge of treachery, likewise, was never broached, till the king, of his own unbiassed intention, restored the church to its lawful establishment, which was not till nearly two years after the Restoration. The majority of the Resolutioners, to which party the primate adhered, were not Presbyterians, although, from the extirpation of the Episcopal order, they were obliged to resort for the time being to the Presbyterian form of government. The petition of the synod of Aberdeen, and the cheerful acquiescence of the whole body, in the restoration of the church, and their recognition of the Episcopal government, is an undeniable proof that they were not Presbyterians. A few sober Presbyterians, among whom was Douglass the primate's correspondent, were attached to the Resolutioners, who were the loyal party. The Protestors or Covenanters, were the real Presbyterians, who took possession of many parishes by force and violence during the usurpation, and turned out the Episcopal clergy: these again factiously deserted their unlawfully acquired livings, opposed both the civil and ecclesiastical government, inflamed the ignorant people

against both, and collected armed rebels together, under pretence of religious ordinances, and were the origin and the cause of all the divisions and schisms which have distracted that country ever since. So far are we from owing our civil liberties to the Covenanters, that their turbulence was the cause of all the severe laws which were enacted during the reigns of the two royal brothers.

The accusation of apostacy is equally groundless, and it appears singular, that the primate alone, of all the bishops and clergy, should bear the odium of this charge. It might, with much greater appearance of truth, have been brought against Bishop Leighton, who certainly was a Presbyterian, and the son of one; yet we hear nothing against his integrity. Gillespie, too, fell under the same imputation; for he offered to go all lengths to assist in introducing Episcopacy into Scotland; yet not a word of censure is breathed against him. The Covenant produced all the works of the *flesh*, those of malice and envy in an extraordinary degree. In the principal historian of that period, these diabolical passions are so openly exhibited throughout his work, as to render much of his evidence, and all of his *opinions*, totally unworthy of credit.

One of the primate's murderers published what he called a life of his victim, which is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end. He accuses the

primate of adultery, infanticide and incest, all of which his biographer has proved to be false, and without the slightest foundation. His accusers were themselves notoriously addicted to the works of the flesh, especially to the unchaste vices; and as out of the abundance of the heart their mouth spoke, so, being notoriously addicted to the works of *uncleanness* themselves, they falsely accused the primate.

The charge of perjury is entirely false respecting the confession of the "pious" Mitchel the assassin, or "poor Mitchel," as Dr. Burns sympathisingly calls him. The primate's examination was as to what passed in the council chamber, and to his own private promise to the assassin's brother-in-law; and all the evidence on both sides agree in the correctness of the primate's deposition. But the assassin was himself guilty of perjury, by denying to the last that he had ever made a confession at all, although a written one, with his own signature attached, was sworn to, and produced in court: but as his piety and holiness consisted of adultery, rebellion, murder, and perjury, Presbyterian sympathies were wholly enlisted on his side. His just execution they termed a martyrdom; and the most foul and sacrilegious murder on record of the primate, they call, even to this day, a just and righteous judgment.

The most persevering attempts are made

throughout the whole of Wodrow's history, to rivet on the primate the charge of sorcery and witchcraft, some ridiculous instances of which have been given in the preceding narrative. To add malice to cruelty, it is asserted that his sacred body was shot-proof; and where he had been hit by bullets, that there were only blue or black *marks*, but no wounds. This most atrocious calumny is contradicted by the *post-mortem* examination and report of four surgeons.

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In fact, the church appears to have been trampled under foot by the royal supremacy, which was carried to the most tyrannical extent. Government seemed to imagine that the bishops and clergy were merely state functionaries, to be controlled and regulated by the sovereign or the minister of the day, according to their secular policy. From detestation of that rebellious and refractory spirit, which the Covenanters exhibited,

the clergy went to the other extreme, and suffered the intrinsic powers of the church to be too much encroached upon. To the naturally factious and mutinous tempers of the Presbyterians, was added the secret intrigues and machinations of some of the nobility, who made them instruments of their private revenge and resentments. Notwithstanding the unrelenting fury of the Presbyterian persecution of that church, which was watered with the blood of Archbishop Sharp, it still remains a monument of divine mercy as a witness against the crimes and the apostacy of the Presbyterians, from both the doctrine and the fellowship of the apostles.

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